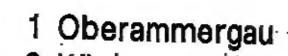
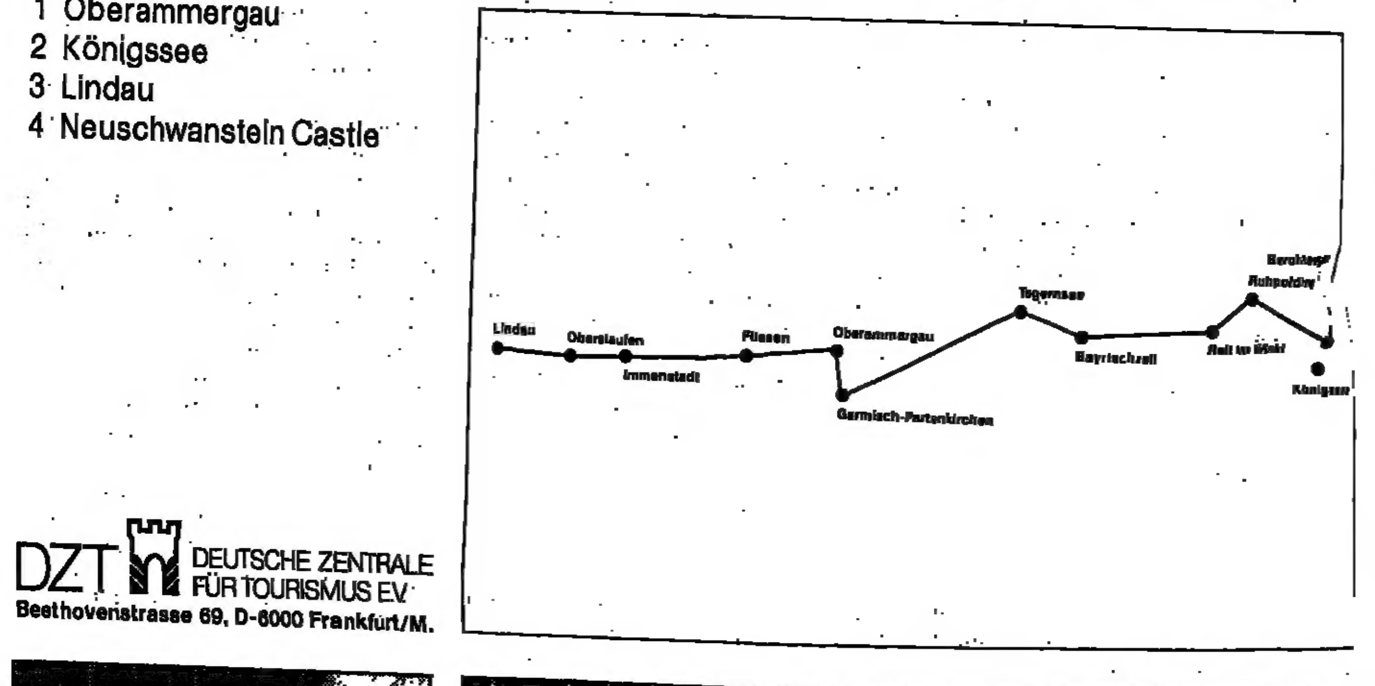
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Alpine Route

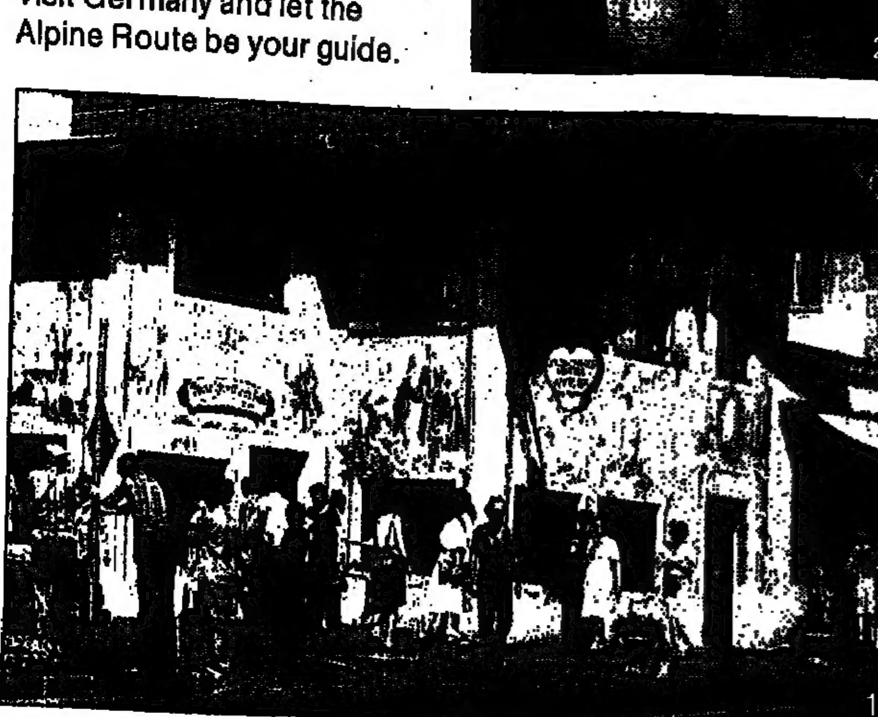
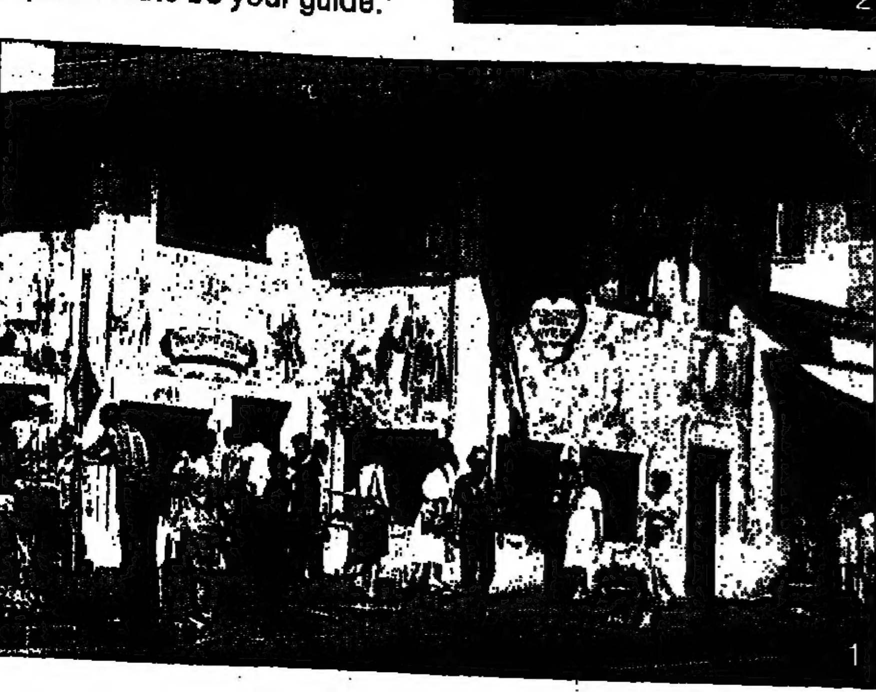
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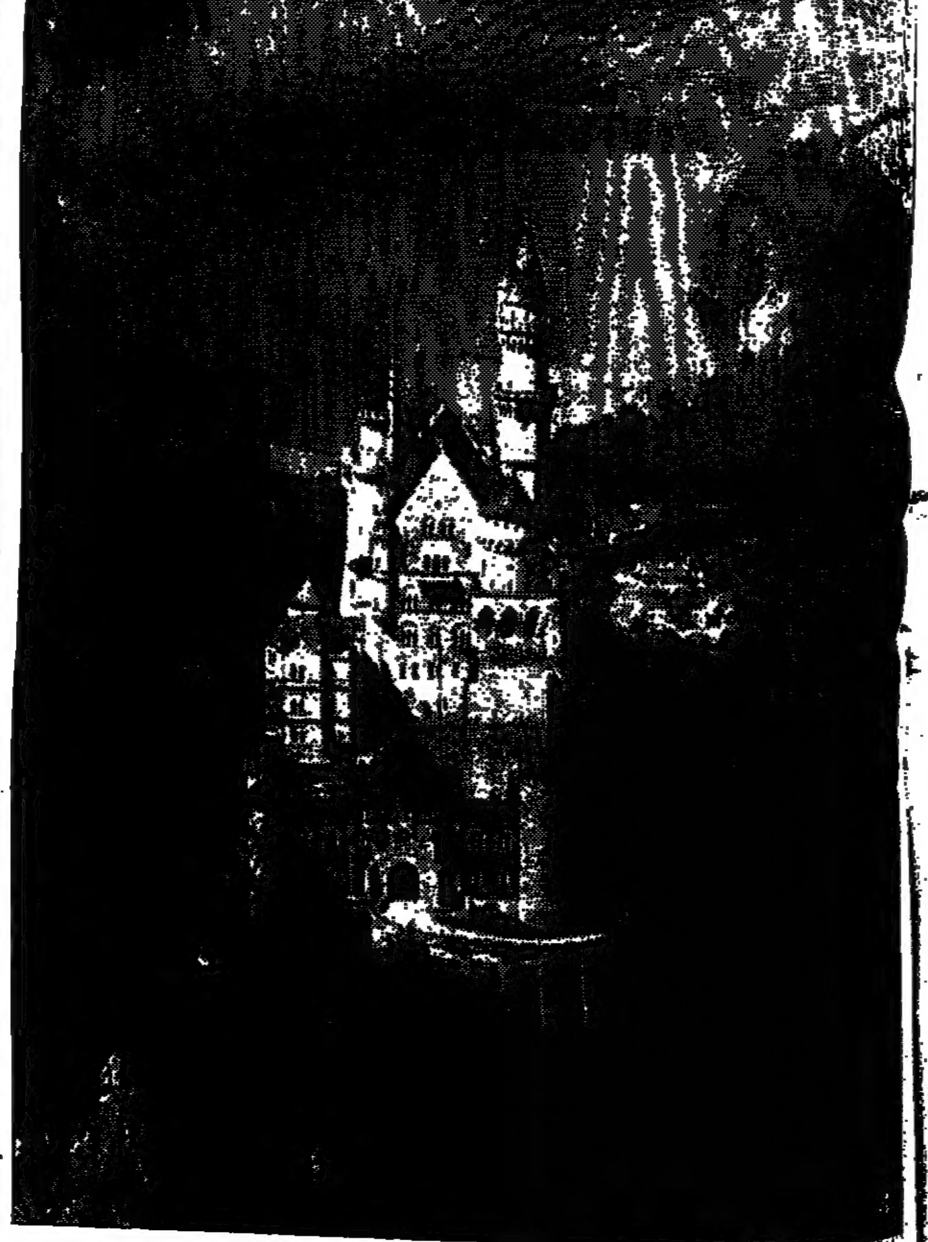
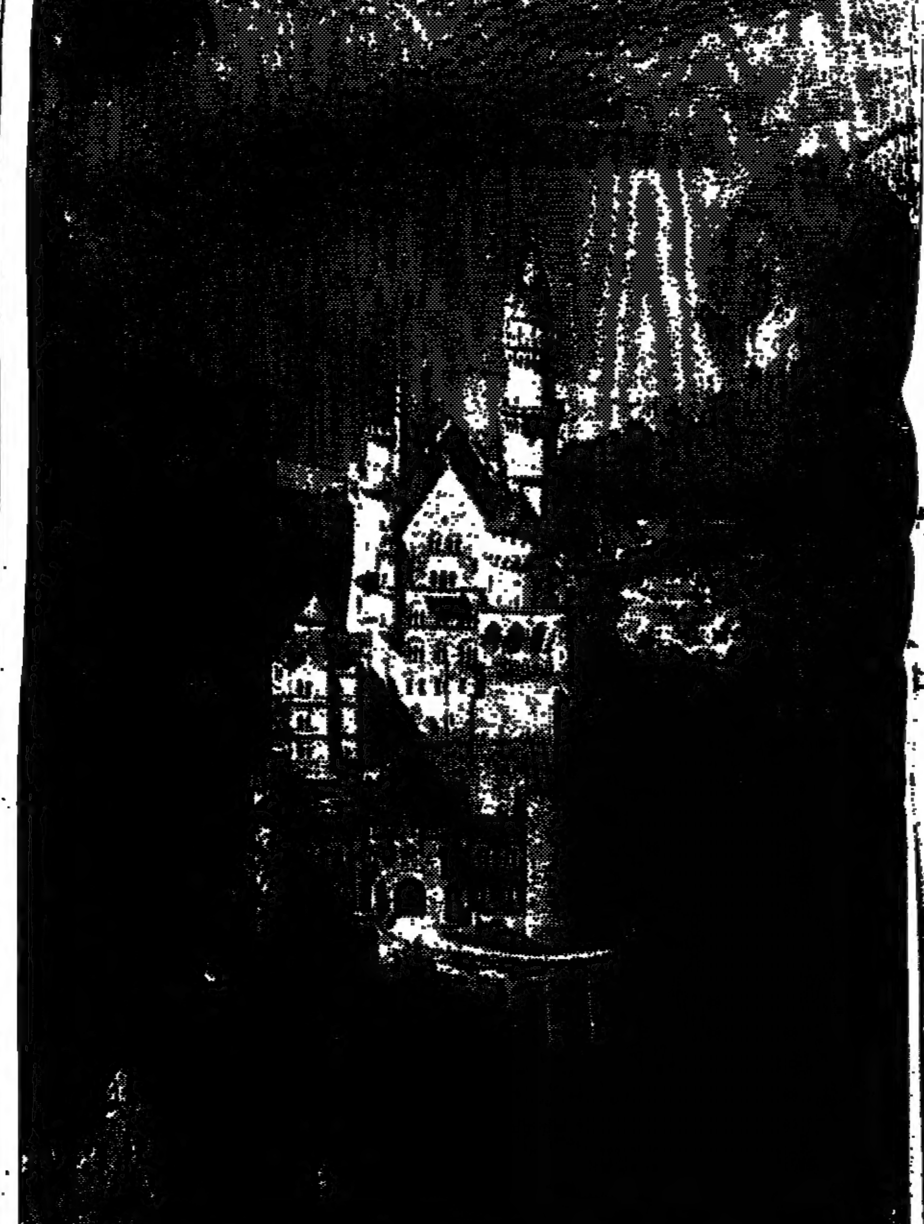


1 Oberammergau
2 Königssee
3 Lindau
4 Neuschwanstein Castle




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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 16 March 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1218 - By air

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French general election and Franco-German ties

The writer, Rudolf von Thadden, is professor of modern history at Göttingen University and president of the Franco-German Institute in Ludwigsburg.

Do we Germans have any cause to fear the French National Assembly election results?. The question sounds as though it had been asked by French commentators before German elections.

The French have periodic fears of some trend or other in Germany, such as German economic expansion, the spectre of German reunification, neutralist tendencies on the part of the German peace movement, the Fata Morgana of Germany ploughing its own furrow and, last not least, German election results.

German uncertainty has been a constant keynote of French views on Germany, like a man and his shadow.

But the reverse does not hold good. Germans are not afraid of events in France, let alone of changes. They consider with a mixture of admiration and complacency the history of Germany's western neighbour, a history arguably happier but by no means more intensive in terms of performance than their own.

They may see the Côte d'Azur and the cliffs and beaches of Brittany as pleasant

DIE ZEIT

holiday destinations but they prefer Japan or the United States as economic partners.

France remains France, regardless who holds power in Paris.

This lack of sensitivity toward political events in neighbouring France is unlikely to be shaken by the forthcoming elections even though they may deserve our whole-hearted attention.

[illegible] whereas tension was perceptible five years ago when the issue at stake was whether French left-wingers were strong enough to bring about a change in power after over 20 years [illegible] time people [illegible]

A change of power is on the cards this time too, but as everyone seems to feel the Left is sure to lose power no-one is interested in the details, let alone the consequences.

The only issue outstanding is whether the two right-wing groups, headed by M. Chirac and M. Giscard d'Estaing respectively, will jointly gain an absolute majority and which of them will then be made Prime Minister.

True, that still leaves M. Barre as an uncertainty factor. If the Right wins he is not prepared to cooperate with President Mitterrand at any cost.

This outlook has led to speculation on the dangers of what in French is called *cohabitation*.

But in the final analysis this variation on the forthcoming change of power in France is of no consequence inasmuch as economic development appears to be unperturbed by it all.

What, then, about Franco-German relations? They too must naturally be borne in mind, but fortunately they seem to develop independently of domestic power realignments.

M. Giscard d'Estaing, a liberal conservative, got on famously with Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Socialist François Mitterrand seems to be on no less good terms with Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl.

Why on earth should Franco-German relations not continue to survive unscathed any changes in leadership?

Fundamental changes in the relationship between Bonn and Paris need not be feared. The two countries have forged so many close links in the past 20 years that a mere change of government will not make much difference.

France and the Federal Republic need each other. That is a fact no politician can disregard.

Yet that is not to say that we Germans can be indifferent to who is in power in Paris.

The French general election may indeed be said to provide food for thought inasmuch as Franco-German relations are regarded as self-evident and requiring no further discussion.

No candidate is seriously making out the dialogue between neighbouring partners France and Germany to be problematic. But no-one is saying what expectations he really has of this relationship.

Yet the French media are increasingly complaining about stagnation in Franco-German cooperation. Both *Le Monde* and *Libération* are worried by the lack of coordination of interests between the two countries.

Even the national conservative *Le Figaro* is sounding the alarm about what it interprets as signs of tiredness with European integration.

[illegible] after the French general elections? What aspects would the various candidates emphasise? Three possibilities arise in this connection:

- Chirac and Giscard jointly gain an absolute majority but with the Gaullists and M. Chirac so clearly in the lead that President Mitterrand has no choice but to bear the fact in mind when forming his next government.
- Chirac and Giscard jointly gain an absolute majority but with such a good performance by the Giscardians that M. Mitterrand is in a position to appoint M. Giscard d'Estaing as Premier.
- Chirac and Giscard fail to gain an absolute majority. National Front leader M. Le Pen holds the balance but is ignored. So M. Mitterrand can appoint a minority government with either M. Chirac or M. Giscard d'Estaing more dependent on the President. Or he may even be able to reappoint a Socialist government.

For European policy in general and Franco-German cooperation in particular the following consequences might arise:

In the first case there would be the clearest signs of a decline in French commitment to European integration.

A stronger Jacques Chirac would for several reasons be keen on attaching greater importance to the national factor in French politics.

He would want to gain the support of National Front voters, to set himself apart from M. Giscard d'Estaing and to differ from M. Mitterrand and his markedly pro-European policies.

In the second case there would be no substantial changes in French policy toward Europe. As M. Giscard d'Estaing would most easily be able to set himself apart from M. Chirac by resuming his old policy of coordination with Bonn he would do all he could to prevent national, protectionist throwbacks.

Given the programmed rivalry between President and Prime Minister, issues of national prestige would tend to play a greater part, but not necessarily to the detriment of European integration. France would arguably tend to accentuate its claim to leadership in Western Europe rather than abandon European policy positions.

In defence policy France would be unlikely, given this party-political constellation, to revert to Gaullist views either.

In the third case, which is the likeliest election outcome, a situation would arise in which a distinction must be drawn between the short- and long-term prospects.

In the short term there would be few changes in French policy on Europe, but in the long term changes important for us as Germans could occur.

Raymond Barre would stand to benefit from a right-wing minority or coalition government being forced to "cohabit."

M. Barre, who throughout the election campaign has strongly opposed any mixture of left- and right-wing viewpoints and maintained a clear "bourgeois" profile, stands to benefit from the inevitable wear and tear on a right-wing government forced to rely on *cohabitation*.

He would build up a political position from which, in two years' time, he would be able to stand for the Presidency. There can be no other reason for his condemnation of the readiness of M. Chirac and M. Giscard d'Estaing to "cohabit."

So what do we Germans have to expect from M. Barre's political course? What European policy views does he hold as a highly-regarded French right-winger and bourgeois economic expert?

He is strikingly reluctant to comment on Europe's future, but he personally has a European past in Brussels on which he occasionally comments.

He recently gave *Le débat* a lengthy interview in which he put European enthusiasts firmly in their place.

"The old soil of Europe, furrowed by particularisms, traditions and prejudices,

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US award for GSG 9 commander

US ambassador Richard Burt (right) awarding first GSG 9 commander Ulrich Wegener the Legion of Merit for helping America to fight terrorism (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Fundamentalists gain ground in Middle East

"The entire region," prominent Egyptian journalist Mohammed Heikal recently wrote, "is in the throes of confusion and unrest. In my view one era is drawing to a close and another dawning in the Middle East.

"We can see the signs. Islamic fundamentalism and the elements of contradiction are there and growing keener by the day. I don't know what the end will be but I do know we are all heading for tremendous problems."

In his own country, with its 49 million people, Heikal could see for himself how trouble brewed.

The five-day rebellion by thousands of underpaid special policemen in Cairo who set fire to tourist hotels near the pyramids and offered stiff resistance to the regular troops who were sent in came as a serious shock to the political establishment.

"Maybe," Heikal mused, "this was the first stage in a dangerous escalation."

It threatens to sweep the entire region, the flames being fanned by Islamic fundamentalism, which has been gaining ground as a political force, social movement and intellectual idea in the Muslim world since the 1979 Shi'ite revolution in Iran.

There are more and more signs that Islamic extremists were involved in the unrest among the security forces.

They called for an end to the "Satanic rule" of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Cairo's lap of luxury, with its night clubs and de luxe hotels, has long been a thorn in the flesh for fanatical Moslems.

President Mubarak recently admitted that "fundamentalism is the most serious danger Egypt faces today." Militant Islam has played this role in Egypt ever since Hassan al-Bannah, a gifted preacher and organiser, founded the Muslim Brotherhood in Ismailia in 1928.

Islamic fanatics tried to assassinate President Nasser. His successor, President Sadat, used force in a bid to break their growing power and paid for it with his life in 1981.

President Mubarak long sought to appease the militant Moslems with a rod of silk — but in vain. He was unable to pacify impatient, disappointed young people who increasingly saw Islam as their only solution to hardship and hopelessness.

The struggle President Mubarak is now waging may already have been lost. Fundamentalists have undermined nearly all public institutions: the banks, the army and now the special police.

An Islamic scholar's forecast that extremists would control the country in two years' time may be exaggerated but there can be no doubt that social and economic hardship are fast increasing.

This and the feeling that Egypt's social structures are simply no longer capable of coping with the country's problems are driving more and more long-suffering Egyptians into the arms of Islamic extremist groups.

Reasons for the upsurge in fundamentalism in the Middle East may vary from country to country but common factors are increasingly taking shape.

Egypt's decline as the cultural and intellectual centre of the Arab world and a growing ideological vacuum play a decisive role.

"For young people here," says a Western diplomat in Cairo, "Islam is the logical alternative now politics has grown meaningless."

The common denominator of extremist currents in all Arab states is hatred of Israel and the United States.

The liberation of Jerusalem from the claws of the Zionists is a target Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini has set his revolutionary guards.

These anti-Western and anti-Israel sentiments are particularly marked among Lebanese Shi'ites, whom the state has exploited and forgotten for decades.

They have now emerged as a political force that has indelibly made its Islamic mark on the erstwhile so liberal and cosmopolitan Lebanon.

Many of these fanatics dream of a boundless Islamic realm they will one day help to set up. They are strongly backed by the mullahs in Teheran, who also support Muslim groups in other Arab states.

Pro-Western Tunisia, where ageing President Habib Bourguiba has helped his seven million fellow-countrymen to achieve substantial prosperity in his 29-year rule, is a case in point.

M. Bourguiba has been unable to spread prosperity evenly, and with the recession social problems have increased, especially among thousands of students unable to find employment. Islamic extremism found them to be fertile soil for its ideas.

In Algeria the authorities are waging a no-holds-barred war on fundamentalists. Islamic extremists have set up gangs and last year attacked police stations and barracks more than once for *supplies of arms and ammunition.*

Not even Morocco, where King Hassan as a direct descendant of the Prophet and his country's religious leader is held in high esteem, has been spared the influence.

Morocco long seemed immune to the blandishments of Islamic fundamentalists, but since 1984 the authorities have felt obliged condemn extremists to lengthy prison terms in a large number of trials.

Sudan too, despite unsatisfactory experience under President Numeiri, who was ousted last year, doesn't dare to repeal Islamic law.

Officially Khartoum has announced that the *Sharia*, or Islamic code, is to form the basis of all legislation. Yet this move rules out reconciliation with the rebels in Sudan's Christian and animist South.

President Assad of Syria has so far been the only Arab leader to succeed in putting down Islamic extremists, using tremendous brutality in the process.

In 1982 the security forces so forcefully put down a rebellion by the Muslim Brotherhood in Hama that thousands died.

King Hussein of Jordan has also been able to breathe more easily since coming to terms with the Syrian leader, his arch-enemy.

President Assad had untiringly persecuted members of the Syrian Muslim Brotherood while energetically supporting their Jordanian counterparts, who were opposed to King Hussein.

Now he had made his peace with King

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Gorbachov reigns supreme but reforms will take time

There can be no doubt whatever that Mr Gorbachov was fully confirmed at the 27th Soviet Communist Party congress as his country's undisputed leader.

But on one extremely important point he knows he will have to make allowances for some time.

In his programmatic statements the Soviet leader shows ready awareness of the country's problems and the expectations of the Soviet people.

Soviet consumers will, of course, need to wait a while before sweeping changes in agricultural policy make their presence felt in the range, quantity and quality of food available in the shops.

Mr Gorbachov and his closer associates are also years ahead of many Soviet office-holders.

It will be some time before the majority of influential officials outside Moscow have come to accept that once having said A one must also say B.

Mr Gorbachov's problem is no longer one of resistance on the part of ultra-conservative Soviet leaders. If there was any conventional conservative foot-dragging at all at the congress it was the embarrassed tittle-tattle of a number of arts officials.

The need for economic reform was undisputed, so there can be no doubt it will be undertaken, although the pace at which it may proceed is another matter.

The situation is fundamentally different from what it was in the 1960s when Premier Kossygin was doomed to failure with his reform bids. He had to take arms against a hostile bureaucracy and lacked Party backing.

Mr Brezhnev virtually promised officials at all levels that their privileges would in no way be curtailed. He was thus sure of their support and his rise to power.

This time the Party has successfully been brought to bear as the motive force against government and economic officials who are stalling or resisting change.

Even among conservative speakers at the congress there were virtually none who didn't warmly welcome at least in principle the economic reform programme that is now irrevocable.

In very few cases is the earnest of such protestations to be doubted in the least. There are unlikely to be many (if any) leading officials who politically survived the pre-congress campaign whose eyes have not been opened by experience over the past 20 years.

The level of debate was high, and not only on facts and figures. The critical spirit of renewal was universally apparent in respect of both economic issues and moral renewal of the Party.

For the first time in living memory controversy raged at a Soviet Party congress, with some disputes openly waged and others framed in diplomatic circumlocution.

From Mr Gorbachov's point of view the only unsatisfactory aspect is likely to have been that debates were not political enough.

For the first time ever his opening address was described as a political report. What the Soviet leader wanted was to convince Party and public opinion that economic reform cannot be carried out on a selective basis.

Any radical reform in the economic sector is bound to presuppose and to result in far-reaching changes in all sectors of Soviet society, and the Party itself is most seriously affected by such change.

So it must be prepared to call in question not only a wide range of its old and trusted tenets but also a number of its traditional political privileges.

The response to this grand design for comprehensive social reform shows there to be, broadly speaking, two main currents of thought in the Soviet Communist Party at present.

Many leading officials, such as regional Party secretaries, feel the economic reforms envisaged could prove sufficient.

Traditional methods of Party rule and the status and privileges of leading officials could arguably continue unchanged.

Spokesmen for this group competently and objectively analysed the country's economic and social problems but more or less ignored Mr Gorbachov's detailed remarks on "socialist self-administration" and "democratisation" of Party, government, economy and so on.

Some of these traditionalists made no bones about their annoyance at the *Pravda* campaign, starting with readers' letters, publicly criticising official privileges and pillorying the existence of a caste of Party bureaucrats remote from the ordinary people.

The other current of Party opinion was spearheaded by the new Moscow Party leader, Yeltsin, who intensified to an unprecedented degree the note of criticism sounded in the *Pravda* letters.

His address, arguably the most political of all at the congress, was clearly intended to stake a claim and make a break with the continuity that still bears traces of its Stalinist origins.

Yeltsin is neither a loner nor an extremist, as was shown by the powerful applause and the cautious note of approval sounded by some other speakers.

This was demonstrated even more strikingly by the intervention of Igor Ligachov, deputy leader of the Party, as an intermediary. He criticised *Pravda* but in so doing only seemingly set himself apart from Yeltsin.

Ligachov was bound to feel there could hardly be a more unsuitable moment at which to bombard the more conservative section of the Party with provocative questions to which a final answer was not yet available.

Mr Gorbachov behaved as though the debate was nothing to do with him. It was generally agreed to feel he could do with more Politbureau members with the views and political clout of Mr Yeltsin.

But he can't pull them out of a hat. All he can do is bank on the motive force of the development set in motion.

Uwe Engelbrecht

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 5 March 1986)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU prospects clouded by poll results

Winners and losers in local government elections always tend to differ in their interpretations of the results' national significance.

After its losses in local government elections in Schleswig-Holstein the CDU refuted claims that it might suffer the same fate during next year's general election.

The SPD in contrast is convinced that the election outcome in the Federal Republic's northernmost *Land* reflects a significant swing in public opinion.

Although local government elections obviously have a specifically local character, national political issues do have a bearing on electoral behaviour.

Schleswig-Holstein's Christian Democratic Premier Uwe Barschel openly blamed the CDU in Bonn and the Bonn coalition government for the substantial fall in his party's vote.

The CDU national executive in Bonn felt the result of the elections in Schleswig-Holstein did not indicate how voters would react during the general election.

The party's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, suggested that the general election next January would be a more reliable barometer of what the electorate really wanted.

Nevertheless, the warning shot fired in Schleswig-Holstein cannot be ignored by CDU politicians in Bonn.

The national political issues that may be said to have affected the poll outcome were the planned amendments to labour and internal security legislation.

Then came Chancellor Kohl's involvement in party-political funding investigations, unemployment, and the disgruntlement of the farmers' lobby.

The key local issues in Schleswig-Holstein were the discussions about the mudflats national park and with the crisis in the building and shipping industries.

Many farmers abstained from voting, and a large number of CDU voters decided to support the SPD or even the Greens.

The CDU is now worried what is going to happen during the state assembly elections in Lower Saxony on 15 June.

The CDU's downhill trend began in the Saar and was confirmed in North Rhine-Westphalia and Schleswig-Holstein.

Complaints about a poor election turnout are not likely to help.

Of course, many voters simply take the opportunity to vent their anger over certain issues during local elections and take a more fundamental vote during general elections.

This, however, is not always the case, and the CDU would be well advised to do more to get its political message across to the electorate before it is too late.

One man who will certainly be stepping up his efforts in this respect is Lower Saxony's state premier, Ernst Albrecht (CDU).

Not only the fate of his own government is at stake during the state assembly elections in mid-June, but also that of the conservative majority in the Bundesrat.

The political problems in Lower Saxony resemble those in Schleswig-Holstein, ranging from the crisis in the shipyards to the problems facing the farming community.

The concept for agricultural reform recently proposed by Herr Albrecht is unlikely to have an impact on voting behaviour by 15 June.

He is hoping to gain an absolute majority for the CDU, but this seems very improbable.

If the FDP manages to poll the five per cent of the vote it needs to move into the state assembly in Hanover, Herr Albrecht can be sure of his majority.

If the FDP falls short of this target, however, Albrecht may be faced by a coalition

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needs not a supranational but a multinational organisation the techniques and procedures of which are adapted to the weight of the historic past," he said.

France's role was even more clearly outlined: "In Brussels I arrived at the conclusion that over and above all intellectual and theoretical reasoning French strength and solidarity are the indispensable groundwork for both influence and progress on a wide range of points we may envisage at the European and further international level."

M. Barre is thus a European "realist" guided not by visions but by facts of power politics. It requires few gifts of prophecy to forecast that he will be even more strongly guided by facts now the European Community has been enlarged. He is unlikely to count on a joint policy pursued by the Twelve.

Yet he is pragmatic enough to realise that France can no longer play its part in world affairs on its own. It needs the support [illegible] European state. Given the situation this could only be the Federal Republic of Germany.

This idea of a Franco-German tandem calls Helmut Schmidt to mind, but he is no longer Bonn Chancellor and the European policy position is no longer what it was in 1980.

Unabated unemployment makes national interests more important, and the intellectual preparation for closer Franco-German collaboration leaves much to be desired.

So much will depend, after the French elections, on whether the men in power are prepared to bear more in mind than mere election campaign considerations.

Rudolf von Thadden

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 March 1986)

Christian Democrats lose farmers' vote in Schleswig-Holstein

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The CDU is losing its most loyal voters. During the local government elections in Schleswig-Holstein many farmers didn't even bother to go to the polls.

The CDU is now worried something similar might happen during the state assembly elections in Lower Saxony or the general election next year.

It feels this would be most unfair, given that it has done more than any other party to help farmers.

It has often sacrificed market economy principles and handed out substantial sums in subsidies to farmers. Are farmers ungrateful? Many are suffering serious hardship.

Whereas other sectors of the economy are gradually picking up, farmers' incomes have again dropped.

Despite pleasant-sounding declarations to the contrary it has not possible to maintain the price levels they were promised.

In many cases the farmers' own cooperatives have pushed down prices. Milk quotas are often blatantly unfair.

With European Community warehouses overflowing, the farmers' plight is likely to worsen rather than improve over the next few years.

The reasons for this catastrophic situation date back a long way.

The CDU/CSU-FDP government in power in Bonn since 1983 is now paying for mistakes made in the past.

As always, voters always blame the current government for political errors.

In an effort to pacify angry farmers leading politicians have promised more subsidies.

They talk of billions, but it is not quite clear what the money is to be spent on.

Federal Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has not yet commented on the promises made by his political colleagues.

One can only hope this doesn't mean he intends dropping his principles of austerity when it comes to securing the support of traditional electoral groups.

Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht claimed that farmers could only be helped in the immediate future via more financial assistance.

This statement shows just how short a politician's memory is.

In 1984 the coalition government promised farmers an annual DM3bn.

The key part of the programme at that time was to offset the losses suffered due to the dropping of offset levies on farm imports by raising the standard deduction amount which could be offset against the VAT charged by farmers for their products.

This form of assistance has not helped the majority of family-run farms, even though this was the government's main target group.

Turnover tax mainly helps those farms with the greatest amount of turnover. They are usually to blame for most overproduction in the farming sector.

Farmers who don't sell their grain but use it on their own farms as fodder are worse off.

The provision that large factory farms which fatten their calves and pigs with imported fodder should be excluded from tax benefits has not been effective.

Many of the farms the government hoped to exclude in this way have found other ways of receiving the tax concession.

This failure did not come without warning.

Experts had already told the coalition that this programme would give the wrong groups too much and the right farmers too little.

Higher subsidies on turnover tax acts as an incentive to overproduce.

It would have been better, the experts said, to grant the farmers direct financial assistance.

For the same money the government could have paid each farmer an annual DM200 per hectare.

If government support had been limited to a maximum of DM30,000 and non-farming incomes had been taken into consideration this figure could have been doubled.

That would have given the average farmer an amount which would have made life easier.

The money needed for effective help has been squandered. Instead of bread the CDU's new (old) concept offers no more than lean promises.

Bioethanol may be an alternative in the distant future. But what are the ailing [illegible] expected to do in the meantime?

The CDU and CSU decisively rejected the idea of direct financial assistance for farmers, fearing farmers would then become dependent on the state.

They overlook the fact, however, that government price guarantees, interventions and milk quotas have already made farmers even more dependent on the state.

The CDU is not a farmers-only party. Its farming policies must bear in mind the well-being of society as a whole.

The government must help farmers keep their farms going. Squandering millions more marks, however, is not the way to do it.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 March 1986)

Chancellor Kohl confident on third anniversary in Bonn

Helmut Kohl's optimism during the press conference held on the third anniversary of his election as Chancellor was [illegible]

During this period he has been nothing but optimistic, at least in public.

On this occasion, however, the Chancellor outlined more clearly than usual what his optimism was based upon: on economic facts and figures for one.

Kohl expressed his firm belief that people would, providing that is they are not unsuccessfully looking for a job, realise that their standard of living had gradually improved.

What is more, he said, people would connect this fact with the achievements of his government.

The state elections in Lower Saxony in June will show whether his hopes are justified.

A second key aspect of Kohl's statement was his promise to help farmers. He referred to noticeable and additional assistance for farmers in May.

This would undoubtedly put a strain on the government budget and counteract plans to reduce subsidies. Election strategy considerations, however, are more important.

A third feature of Kohl's statement was his strikingly cautious approach to the subject of trade unions.

Chancellor Kohl would appear to be trying to bridge the gap between his position and that of the unions.

He did not rule out a compromise solution to the controversial plans to change paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act. Whether this in fact materialises remains to be seen.

Any attempt to seek a compromise, however, should be welcomed, even though election tactics obviously play a part.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 7 March 1986)

■ PARTNERSHIP

Weizsäcker reviews Third World ties after South-East Asian tour

What Bonn head of state Richard von Weizsäcker saw and learnt on his tour of South-East Asia may be nothing new. It will have consisted of ideas that have occurred to others on the quiet.

But that they have occurred to the Federal President and to a personality of Herr von Weizsäcker's calibre makes them particularly important.

He will incorporate them in his public utterances with the authority of his personality and office as head of state, and he can be expected to spread them both in public and among leading politicians in Bonn and abroad.

He will use them in talks with state visitors from all over the world, especially with representatives of the developing countries.

In visiting Burma, Bangladesh and Malaysia, countries he felt held the key to any kind of understanding of development policy, Herr von Weizsäcker set himself the task of not only seeing for himself but also thinking over what he saw and arriving at conclusions of his own.

The impression gained is that the President has realigned his view of the world, his foremost realisation arguably having been that we often fail to appreciate the needs and interests of a majority of people in the world.

They are a majority who need to devote their entire strength to the daily



struggle for survival. The key problem of the world today is the fight against hunger and hardship.

He further came to realise that there was *no need to be dogmatic* on whether government or non-government development was "better." Both are needed, with a preference for the gradually expansion of activities by non-government organisations.

Should development aid seek to transfer to the Third World patterns of development tried and trusted in Europe? Or should we disregard Western values?

On this issue Herr von Weizsäcker advocates a middle-of-the-road approach midway between the two extremes.

He is not in favour of imposing Western views of civilisation on alien cultures or of exporting drawing-board theories.

He advocates devising concepts appropriate to framework conditions in the country in question combined with demonstrating Western values and experience.

The South-East Asian tour was his first major visit to the Third World, although last year he paid brief visits to Jordan and Egypt and to refugee camps in Sudan.

Burma, Bangladesh and Malaysia were far from easy targets. He had no desire to visit countries that were particularly unproblematic in either economic terms or in respect of their understanding of democracy.

He was referring to the latter when he told President Ershad of Bangladesh: "We have to use our means not for arms but for needs."

Richard von Weizsäcker is a man who both commands respect and shows respect toward others. His opposite numbers will fully appreciate the subtle undertones of his carefully balanced statements.

The three countries he chose to visit could hardly have differed from each other more:

- Burma has largely cut itself off from the outside world and sought to develop in its own way.
- Bangladesh is one of the poorest and most problem-beset countries in the world.
- Malaysia is a threshold country that already boasts modern industry.

He chose these three because a German head of state had never visited the first two, because development cooperation with all three was intensive and because all were keen to engage in political dialogue with Bonn.

In Burma Herr von Weizsäcker was *particularly impressed* by the emphasis on and retention of social and cultural identity. People were poor without suffering marked hardship. They didn't seem unhappy and were at peace with themselves by virtue of their religion.

His visit was intended to encourage the Burmese to maintain their policy of independence and equidistance from the great powers and to express respect for their refusal to surrender to the humdrum civilisation that often resulted from throwing a country open to outside influence.

He was impressed by the way in which they had deliberately ploughed their own furrow in keeping with their culture and religion. But his visit was also intended to demonstrate readiness to cooperate if cooperation was needed or desired.

"Interest in the roots of culture, intellect and religion is a part of understanding the possibilities and requirements of cooperation," *he said*. "We need to understand these roots if we are truly to help others."

He continued in a vein that was very much in keeping with his personal point of view, saying:

"Being — and remaining — Eurocentric would dangerously limit our opportunities of experiencing these civilisations. But there is no occasion to deny Europe's existence.

"In South-East Asia in particular people greatly respect and admire German philosophy and the German intellect in the widest sense of the term, and they are keen to learn how Europe has developed intellectually and what it has to offer the world."

Herr von Weizsäcker attaches great importance to common-sense and technologically-orientated German development aid not neglecting cultural, historical and, above all, religious factors.

The last-named must be seen as keynotes of any approach to development. The old tradition of religious outlook is much stronger in Asia than in the West and a much sounder foundation than mere common sense.

Bangladesh, the most densely-populated country in the world, has a population of 100 million, expected to increase to 140 million by the end of the century.

They have to be fed from a cultivable area the size of Bavaria. Bangladesh, President von Weizsäcker is convinced, will continue to be a key to the success of North-South cooperation.

Development aid has nowhere been more controversial than aid to Bangladesh. "We can but hope the debate will add to our understanding of the issues," Herr von Weizsäcker says. "We certainly still have a long way to go before we know all there is to know about the subject."

He is all in favour of a lively debate about the right form for development policy and aid to take — "provided we don't go about it with a view to talking ourselves into resignation or engaging in mutual vilification."

People must be encouraged to make personal cash contribution or to make donations in kind or contributions of personal effort.

"Setbacks and failures *must not mislead us into a sense of resignation*," he says. Resignation *is* unwarranted when one sees how people in Bangladesh untiringly struggle to survive rather than sink into lethargy given almost hopeless living conditions.

The President visited Burma, Bangladesh and Malaysia to see the situation for himself and to find out what can be done better. He wanted to find out on the spot what the situation was and to advocate full acceptance of political responsibility on his return.

After a short tour he is well aware that he cannot rival the experience of an expert who has spent long years in the field, but he can at least take a greater part in the debate.

Development aid will remain a keynote of his work. He has demonstrated his commitment as patron of the German Freedom from Hunger Campaign, as patron of last year's *African Aid Day* and in visiting refugee camps *in Sudan*.

He plans to intensify his efforts to promote dialogue with the Third World.

The President set out on his tour well-briefed. In preliminary discussions with journalists he said:

"The challenge is how to make sure that development aid really reaches people who live both in poverty and in dependence. These aspects are more important than macro-economics."

Herr von Weizssäcker may not make the impression of being someone who knows the answers but he does make the impression of being someone who can find them.

One contribution toward a solution as he sees it would be an increase in the contribution of non-government organisations toward development cooperation.

Governments and administrative authorities are overburdened with responsibility for government aid. Private project implementation is also closer to the people affected.

"Development aid," he concludes, "calls for great courage, dedication and patience; it also calls for readiness to learn and to be self-critical. Development aid is harder to put into practice than good will and good intentions might possibly imagine."

Inga Krugmann-Randolf

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 March 1986)



■ HORIZONS

First conference on Jewish life in post-war Germany

Contemporary historians, political scientists and sociologists deal gladly and at length with the history and problems of post-war German society.

Few issues that have arisen over the past 40 years have escaped their academic attention. Yet they have all steered a wide berth of the history of the Jews in post-war Germany.

Great play is tactlessly made with the return to normal in relations between Germans and Jews, but in scientific research it is a phantom.

This makes a pioneering conference on Jewish Life in Germany Since 1945 all the more deserving of attention. It was held by the Duisburg Jewish history project and the Protestant Church Academy in Arnoldshain.

The conference venue, nestling in the Taunus hills near Frankfurt, was full to overflowing. That alone testified to a change in outlook.

A wide range of issues was covered: from trials of Nazi offenders and reparations payments to relations between left-wingers and Israel, from problems of the post-war generation in the Federal Republic to a profile of the Jewish Press in Germany.

Wolfgang Jacobmeyer of the School Textbook Research Institute, Brunswick, recalled the early days of the Jewish community in the immediate post-war period.

Those were the days when Jewish life and survival took place in camps. Like other DPs, or displaced persons, Jewish survivors were housed in camps.

In the American zone these camps were often large, housing 4,000 or more people, often behind barbed wire and in former concentration camps.

Conditions were in some cases catastrophic, an American observer noted, with Jewish DPs frequently wearing concentration camp or SS uniforms.

They suffered from malnutrition and there was little or nothing in the way of programmes to promote their physical or mental rehabilitation.

When Jews began arriving in large numbers from Eastern Europe at the end of 1945 and in 1946 an American displaced persons administrator disgracefully said he felt these new arrivals, most from Poland, were psychopathic liars intent on shirking the process of reconstruction in their own countries.

These appalling conditions and assessments soon improved, but the camps remained mere transit facilities.

Most survivors did what was expected of them abroad. They tried to get out of Germany as soon as possible.

So early post-war history of the Jews in Germany is a tale of migration. In 1946 over 100,000 Jews arrived in Germany. Between 1945 and 1949 up to 200,000 Jews lived in camps.

Over 120,000 displaced persons emigrated via Munich alone. The energy and determination with which people who arrived in DP camps after their trials and tribulations like the flotsam and jetsam of history immediately set about organising and preparing for their future were remarkable.

Arno Lustiger, who survived concentration camp and was a journalist in the period under review, told the Arnoldshain conference long-forgotten details.

DP camps not only had schools and timetables designed to prepare them for life as settlers in Palestine. There were not just kindergartens and synagogues. Newspapers were also founded in large numbers.

Most camps were shut down in 1948. The last camps were closed in 1956. Germans were quick to forget they had ever existed.

By 1952 the mass exodus of Jewish migrants to Israel was over. About 12,000 stayed in Germany. Many of them were sick and too weak to face up to a fresh start in Israel.

The initial 12,000 steadily increased in number. By 1959 there were 21,000. For many years the Jewish community in Germany has numbered between 40,000 and 50,000.

Numbers are only kept up by a constant surplus of new arrivals. Most Jews in Germany are old, and mortality is seven times higher than the birth rate.

Differences in the make-up of the community have to some extent been to blame for the problems that beset it today. Pre-war Liberal Jewry, as noted in a paper by Pnina Navé-Levinson of Heidelberg, has virtually ceased to exist in religious terms.

Orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe predominate in most communities, with the result that many younger Jews steer a wide berth of the community's religious life.

The level of religious instruction, she wrote (her paper was read to the conference as she was unable to attend in person), was appalling.

Most Jews in Germany have, according to another survey, a level of religious knowledge that can be dismissed as kind[illegible]

When a Jewish college was eventually set up in Heidelberg in the 1970s the founders were persuaded to adopt the neutral designation College of Jewish Studies.

One outcome is that there are more non-Jewish than Jewish students, a state of affairs that would be unthinkable at a Protestant or Roman Catholic faculty of theology.

"It's certainly a strange feeling," one Heidelberg student says, "to be the only Jew among seven students learning the Talmud." It is also a disconcerting variation on the subject of dialogue between Christians and Jews.

It is a dialogue that has never really made much headway, as Martin Stöhr, outgoing head of studies at Arnoldshain, put it in a no-holds-barred paper in which he almost sounded a note of resignation.

A crucial issue, he said, was who were the Jews' friends. It was a question that long remained unanswered after 1945. The Christian churches certainly couldn't lay claim to this distinction.

Asymmetry between Christians and Jews, he said, was evident in the fact that Christians were quick to call on Jews as partners in political statements yet never returned the compliment.

Konrad Adenauer's efforts to negotiate a reparations agreement and to build a bridge to the Jewish community were undertaken with entirely different political interests in mind, said Y. M. Bodemann of Toronto University.

Adenauer had banked on the old Nazi bureaucrats to carry out the programme of post-war reconstruction. The Jewish factor was emphasised to counteract a resurgence of Nazism.

Jewish communities were made out to have been an *ersatz* Opposition to the Nazi regime, he said.

The life of the Jewish community in the Federal Republic of Germany is confronted with a mountain of problems ranging from the half-hearted way in which Nazi offenders have been brought to trial to the psycho-social difficulties faced by second-generation Jewish survivors.

War crimes trials have usually ended like a damp squib. German left-wingers have tended to take a dim view of government policy toward Israel. Jews in other countries failed to understand how a Jew could live (or want to live) in the country where the mass murder of Jews had been planned and carried out.

Like German non-Jews, said Dan Diner of Essen University in a moving address, the Jews had to live with the culture shock of Auschwitz, a shock that had led to constant bids to set the problem aside.

To imagine what Auschwitz must have been like was, he said, like looking straight at the Sun. Attempts to offset the guilt that could never be adequately atoned led to a mechanism of guilt, fear of punishment and transfer of guilt to the victims.

Israel was widely supported by German public opinion and the German media in 1967. The Germans were arguably hoping on the quiet that the Jews would get their own back on the Arabs for what they themselves had suffered.

The Jews' task in Germany was to ensure that memories did not fade. That, he argued, was the sole justification of their presence in Germany.

There were strong objections at Arnoldshain to a scientific approach to sensitive issues such as the Jewish sense of identity in the Federal Republic — even though the same scientific approach is accepted as a matter of course in other contexts.

A paper on Jewish identity by historian Inge Fleischhauer upset Jewish members of the audience who said her psychoanalytical approach had failed to bear in mind the mental state of Jewish listeners in mind.

Julius Schoeps of Duisburg University said she couldn't simply work as though she were a research scientist studying, say, butterflies.

This reaction may have been due to a growing sense of Jewish self-confidence. The protest against the Frankfurt production of an anti-Semitic play by Rainer Werner Fassbinder was agreed to have been a sign of renewed Jewish self-assurance.

Protest against the Fassbinder play came as a surprise. Maybe German Jews are no longer foreigners in their own country, as a book title called them.

Or, as Schoeps put it, maybe the days are over once and for all when Jews in Germany had suitcases packed ready to leave at a moment's notice.

Irmtraud Rippel-Manss

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 February 1986)

Continued from page 3

between the SPD and the Greens. From the point of view of the FDP in Bonn it is good to know [illegible] portant to the [illegible]

At the moment it's uphill all the way for Helmut Kohl.

Elections in Lower Saxony are much more of a test run for the general election than the elections in Schleswig-Holstein.

How will the public prosecutor's investigations into party-political funding fare by June?

Would the CDU be able to keep the undoubtedly damaging discussion over this issue under control?

Kohl's political successes do not yet seem to have made their mark. Somehow the CDU and CSU have got to come to grips with this fact.

Just complaining about how nasty the Opposition parties are is not enough.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 4 March 1986)

Head of state calls for reconciliation



Richard von Weizsäcker has a very unusual gift for a politician. The way he talks suddenly makes issues shine in a new, bright light that many no longer see clearly for the fog of hackneyed clichés that normally surrounds them.

They include issues such as anti-Semitism and German collective responsibility for the murder of six million Jews during the Third Reich.

These are topics many are tired of hearing about, while many younger people have never felt them to be relevant issues and are strongly opposed to being confronted with them.

The Bonn head of state differs most decidedly from others in not just dismissing these two viewpoints with the customary, duty-bound expression of outrage or contempt.

He tries to deal with them thoroughly and objectively and to arrive at truly convincing answers.

One is that guilt is a personal matter. There can be no such thing as an entire nation being guilty, let alone its children and grandchildren.

This argument may carry extra weight in an age that has grown accustomed as a matter of course to an entirely new kind of collective guilt, blaming society for all and sundry.

The second part of the answer is that remembrance fosters understanding, knowledge and conscience. Remembrance is not a burden; it eases burdens.

All Germans, regardless whether they feel guilty, partly to blame or totally innocent, whether they are ashamed of what has been done in their name or would like to be proud of parts of German history that deserve pride, must arrive at a viewpoint somewhere between guilt and remembrance.

"History hands down its legacy," Herr von Weizsäcker said in his memorable speech on reconciliation between Christians and Jews.

It is a legacy that cannot simply be set aside by an affidavit or a reference to one's personal conduct or date of birth.

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 March 1986)

Fundamentalists

Continued from page 2

Hussein. President Assad has called a halt to this subversive activity, but King Hussein still feels threatened.

He is so hard-pressed by the growing agitation of large numbers of legal and illegal fundamentalist groups that Jordan has passed new legislation empowering the state to check sermons preached at the mosque.

In Jordan too there have been louder calls for a return to Islamic principles, and many clergymen made so bold as to call openly for the imposition of Islamic rule.

So a bitter struggle between temporal and spiritual forces has swept the Arab world from Morocco to Iraq, threatening the entire region with yet more violence.

Birgit Cerha

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 March 1986)

■ LABOUR

No strike pay from Nuremberg!

IG Metall, the 2.5-million-strong engineering workers union, has discovered a new strike technique particularly effective in an age of growing industrial integration, especially in the car industry.

The minimax strike strategy adopted by IG Metall in 1984 almost brought the whole car industry to a standstill.

Only 12,700 workers actually went on strike, but their strike action concentrated on plants supplying key components such as radiators and pistons.

It is quite conceivable that the union could trigger even more detrimental effects on engineering during future industrial disputes.

The most infamous aspect of this strategy, however, was the fact that the union was unwilling to accept responsibility for the damage done.

It claimed that state labour offices should foot the bill for deliberately planned production standstills outside the strike area, even in the case of workers who stood to benefit from the strike if it succeeded.

This, however, ran contrary to the legal commitment of the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg to adopt a neutral stance in industrial disputes (paragraph 116 of the 1969 Labour Promotion Act).

The official wording of this labour law stipulation was as follows:

"Intervention in industrial disputes via the granting of unemployment benefit is inadmissible."

This ruling clarified three decisive aspects:

First, no-one involved in a strike, whether actively or passively (i.e. due to a lockout), is entitled to compensation from labour offices for loss of earnings.

Second, anyone who benefits from the outcome of an industrial dispute is classed as having been involved in that dispute and hence also forfeits any entitlement to compensation from the Federal Labour Office.

The stipulation did not distinguish between industrial branches or strike areas within those branches.

The decisive aspect was participation in the final outcome, which in the case of the engineering industry, for example, generally applies to all engineering workers.

Third, if the payment of unemployment benefit or short-time compensation money influences the course and outcome of an industrial dispute the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg must discontinue such payments.

In line with the basic understanding of free collective bargaining the government and its institutions must remain impartial during industrial disputes.

This compromise, however, was watered down four years later by the so-called Neutrality Order adopted by a majority on the Federal Labour Office's board of administration much to the dismay of employers.

IG Metall discovered that they could undermine the government's commitment to neutrality by introducing slightly yet not seriously meant differentiations in the union demands made in the various strike areas.

This approach was later also approved by the Federal Social Court in Kassel. This was just a clever ruse, as was particularly obvious during an industrial dispute in 1984 when the union called for a shorter working week throughout the industry.

Unions and employers here debate proposed amendments to unemployment benefit regulations. Dieter Kirchner (left) is general manager of the engineering employers' association in Cologne, Ernst Niemeier (right) works council chairman of IBM in Hamburg.

A new legal regulation was inevitable.

Neither the Federal Labour Office nor the collective bargaining parties are in a position to decide on the extent of the government's commitment to impartiality.

This is a matter for the legislator, and the Federal Constitutional Court must then decide whether the legal ruling is constitutional or not.

The union by no means loses its ability to strike if the payment of short-time money to engineering workers indirectly affected by a strike is declared to be illegal.

The union doesn't need this kind of subsidy of its strike ability by the Federal Labour Office. For one the union is rich, with a monthy income of about DM50m.

According to its executive committee member responsible for strike funds the union saved about DM427m between 1980 and 1982 to finance the industrial dispute in 1984.

In fact, the union's financial reserves even allowed it to involve the Hesse collective bargaining area in the industrial dispute along with North Württemberg/North Baden.

What is more, IG Metall general secretary *Hans Mayr confirmed during* a recent public hearing in Bonn that the union is in a position to carry out selective strikes which would indirectly cause greater disruptions, for example, outside the engineering industry.

Or strikes could be called in plants where the adverse effects on third parties would only be felt after a considerable time lag.

The claim that employers' associations could put the metalworkers' union under pressure via selective lockouts is ridiculous.

This accusation overlooks a decisive aspect, the fact that the use of such tactics would damage the employers themselves.

The ensuing production losses would hit businesses which cannot fall back on solidarity funds of the employers' associations.

Such action would cause substantial pressure within the employers' associations to seek a compromise solution.

This situation reflects the current imbalance in industrial disputes.

The government's commitment to neutrality has been undermined in such a way as to take the pressure to seek a compromise off the trade unions (the strike compensation money coming from the state and not from their own strike funds) and to put more pressure on the employers.

It is obvious that under these circumstances no agreement can be reached which is acceptable to both sides.

This is why greater legal clarity is required concerning the neutrality of the Federal Labour Office during industrial disputes.

It would serve the interests of a more workable system of free collective bargaining.

Dieter Kirchner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 March 1986)

Don't penalise trade unions for successful strike strategy

Neutrality paragraph is the term used by employers to describe the planned amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act.

But is the re-establishment of the neutrality of the Federal Labour Office in industrial disputes really the issue at stake?

Does the fact that this state institution has up to now paid out unemployment benefit to persons indirectly affected by strike action represent government intervention in favour of trade unions?

Or is the real aim to turn paragraph 116 into an *anti-strike* paragraph so as alter the balance of power on the labour market to the detriment of the unions?

Unions and management can claim to have conducted negotiations within a framework of *free* collective bargaining if the government has not influenced *ongoing* negotiations in favour of one or other of the negotiating parties.

Any departure from this practice alters the collective bargaining framework and is not therefore neutral.

The Social Court in Frankfurt, for example, confirmed that the Franke decree, which stopped the payment of unemployment benefit to workers indirectly affected by strike action, was illegal.

This does not, however, rule out the possibility of regulatory measures designed to ensure that the "price" agreed on in the collective bargaining process is not distorted by an imbalance of power.

Nevertheless, such measures should not focus on current industrial disputes; they should set out to guarantee a long-term balance of power.

If, therefore, the plan to stop the payment of unemployment benefit in a strike situation is not neutral, is there in fact a political justification for attempts to redress a change in the balance of power?

This question can only be answered by taking a closer look at the real balance of power between the collective bargaining parties in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Have economic developments, changes in the structure of the economy or the unions' minimax strategy resulted in an exaggerated strengthening of union power?

Let us examine the last aspect first.

How strong is the influence of the minimax strategy setting out to hit employers as hard as possible (maximum effect) by taking selective strike action in only key branches of industry (minimum effort), on the power of trade unions?

Of course, both sides in an industrial dispute are entitled to act and use the tactics they feel are most likely to be successful.

If a particularly intelligent approach by one or the other collective bargaining party is punished by the government because it has been particularly successful this kind of sanction represents an unacceptable intervention in the freedom of collective bargaining.

The success of the minimax strategy, therefore, cannot be cited as an argument in favour of amending paragraph 116.

Furthermore, trade unions have as a rule always acted in such a way as to achieve the maximum degree of success via their measures.

They are doing no more than applying an economic principle, a principle which should not be the prerogative of business.

So union behaviour has not changed and the use of the minimax strategy cannot serve as an argument for corrective measures by the government on the labour market.

What has changed to a substantial degree during recent years, however, is the extent of industrial integration.

Business concentration and growing business ramifications have resulted in cost-saving (and job-killing) rationalisation of stocks.

The reduction of stocks and the general acceptance of the just-in-time principle according to which ordered materials arrive just before production begins have, as it were, put stocks on the road.

Businesses have benefited by saving costs and personnel.

At the same time, however, there is now a greater risk that stocks will soon be depleted if there is a disruption of supplies and that industrial disputes will also paralyse industrial plants outside of the immediate geographical area in which strike action is being taken.

The economic risk of stocktaking, however, has to be borne by employers.

In fact, according to the Civil Code (paragraph 615) employers were also originally held responsible for the economic risk of the possible unemployment of their workers and obliged to continue paying their wages and salaries.

In 1923, however, the *supreme court* of the German *Reich decided* that employers no longer had to pay compensation for earnings lost as a result of an industrial lockout or the indirect effects of a strike elsewhere.

Employers nevertheless suffer losses due to continuing fixed costs and loss of profit.

Trade unions, on the other hand, suffer losses during strikes and lockouts due to the fact that they have to pay their members strike money.

The decisive aspect in terms of the balance of power, therefore, is which side has most staying power during an industrial dispute.

The side that has the most plentiful funds for industrial action has the greatest staying power and is in the most powerful position.

So let us take a closer look at how these funds shape up.

The unions fill their funds *with the help* of the contributions of their organised members.

Assuming that all union members pay the official contribution of about one per cent of their gross income, the situation before the strike in 1984 was as follows: with a organisation ratio of 32 per cent the union funds amounted to roughly DM2.95bn in 1983.

Whatever wasn't spent on personnel expenses, publications, events, rent charges etc. was left over as strike money.

The DM2.95bn in union funds compared with gross entrepreneurial income in 1983 (excluding property income) of DM240bn.

Even though not all of this can be used during industrial disputes it does indicate the tremendous financial power of the employers when it comes to surviving production setbacks.

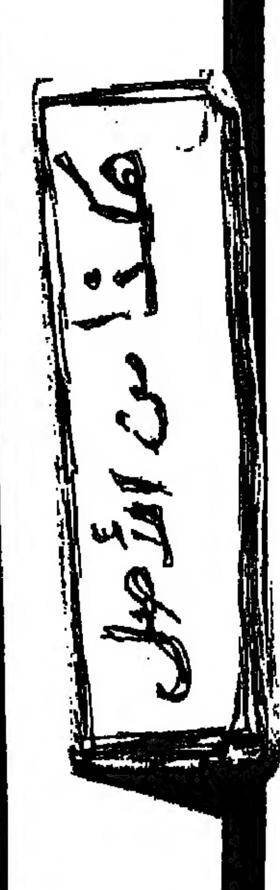
This is all the more apparent when bearing in mind that this figure does not take into account the use of property income.

Finally, let us appraise whether the development of the economy has resulted in more power for the unions.

Unemployment has increased more than fifteenfold over the past 15 years, moving from an annual average of just under 150,000 to a current level of 2.3 million.

The so-called economic upswing of re-

Continued on page 8



■ MANAGEMENT

Mail order's grande dame prepares to step down

DIE ZEIT

Grete Lachner was small, dainty, conscientious and 16 when she joined the small, unspectacular haberdasher, linen and woollen goods wholesale business run by Gustav Schickedanz in Fürth, Bavaria, in 1927.

That was the beginning of the unrelenting rise of an extraordinary woman combining a facility for hard work and a man-sized helping of common sense.

Hans Dedi, her son-in-law, described her career as "without precedent in German industry, at least for a woman." This career is drawing to its close.

In 1942 Grete Lachner married Gustav Schickedanz, who had lost his first wife in an accident in 1929.

Two years earlier he had set up Quelle, a firm that after the war became Europe's largest mail-order house.

Grete Schickedanz is still the final authority in the company. When Gustav died in 1977 her son-in-law Dedi was named head of the Schickedanz group. But she maintained full control of the parent company, Quelle.

She chairs both the executive and supervisory boards and is the main shareholder in the holding company.

Next February she is due to step down, and it is bitter for her that she must withdraw from daily business affairs, and as chairwoman, when Quelle is passing through the most difficult period in its 57-year history.

No secret is made of the fact that she is partly responsible for the crisis. Quelle are losing money.

At 74 she has been wounded by reports saying that the "old lady" is to leave. She is saddened that journalists are not gentlemen.

The Quelle ship is passing through difficult waters. Some observers believe the vessel is listing dangerously.

The trading firm's sales, including those of the parent company in Fürth, dropped three percentage points in 1985. Sales had already fallen in 1982 and 1983 and in 1984 there was only a modest three-per-cent increase.

The turnover of DM8.5bn in the Schickedanz trading group was last year markedly below the 1981 turnover, DM9bn.

The total organisation, including the industrial firms in the group, had a turnover of almost DM10.5bn.

Hans Dedi says: "We have observed for some time a basic change in the make-up of consumer habits."

He seeks to excuse results by placing the Quelle problem within the context of trade trends generally, particularly the wholesale trade.

He says consumers are better informed and increasingly critical. They are more quality-conscious. Consumer goods have lost their "quality-of-life factor," so many sectors are glutted with goods.

The Quelle management have known this for some time. But, spoiled by years of success, they did not take the first signs of trouble seriously, and did not change direction in time to meet the hard times ahead.

There was a lack of feeling for the market, flair and creativity flagged and in Fürth there were delays in coming to decisions.

An insider said: "We are five years behind developments."

The parent company delayed introducing structural changes in Vereinigte Papierwerke, a Schickedanz company. Rigorous changes have now been introduced *successfully, but vital years were* wasted.

The management troika consisting of Grete Schickedanz, 67-year-old Hans Dedi and her other son-in-law, Wolfgang Bühler, 53, seem to be working against one another.

Frau Schickedanz often has to play the part of referee because of differences between Dedi and Bühler.

She wants to keep her husband's legacy together, so it is no wonder then that she acts emotionally and that her heart sometimes governs her decisions.

After all, at the war's end, when her husband was banned from taking part in business, she built up Quelle almost single-handedly from a small shop in the Franconian town of Hersbruck. So she was also responsible for the progress made by the group.

For too long she preferred to disregard the hard times coming on. She was against worker participation in management and against changes in marketing strategy.

Competitors, such as Otto-Versand in Hamburg, were quicker off the mark. Yet until three years ago Quelle always made a profit. Published accounts for 1983 showed a profit of a good DM70m.

But this sum, however it may have been achieved, was deceptive and did not reveal the true state of affairs. The moment of truth came a year later.

Quelle management declined to make a statement on the group's 1984 results and announced that, in line with other family firms, they would make no statements in future.

This unusual silence indicated how serious the position was.

Grete Schickedanz based her refusal to make public statements on the sense of injury she felt from comments made by trades unions, local government officials and even from the church, when redundancies were announced at Vereinigte Papierwerke and Möbel-Hess, a Nuremberg subsidiary.

She complained about how she was torn apart, adding "that was not nice." She was attacked, she said, as "rich Frau Schickedanz."

She said critics had turned their attention to the profits of the parent company and had demanded, if you please, that they should be used in part to revitalise the other companies.

This explanation was only an excuse, of course. The truth is that discussion of Quelle profits are taboo for the family, because in 1984 losses ran to tens of millions of marks. The family wanted to avoid this being made public at any cost. The finishing touches had to be made to a new restructuring programme.

Grete Schickedanz is certainly not the *usual type of career woman. She is* a charming, warm-hearted woman, but in business affairs she can be tough — with trade suppliers and company staff alike.

This is very tough on loyal Hans Dedi. The view in the company is that she always talks him round to her way of thinking. In the end he says: "Yes Grete, you're right!" This often causes frustration among the upper echelons of management.

Klaus Zumwinkel, 42, has been appointed her successor, and it will be up to him to turn a new leaf in Quelle's history and bring back a little joy into the company. He takes over from her fully on 1 February next year as chairman of the executive board.

Formerly he was a director with McKinsey. As Quelle's problems escalated, a team of American management advisers was brought in to help, first at Vereinigte Papierwerke, then in summer 1984, at Quelle. The family were so taken by Zumwinkel's analysis of the situation that they invited him to join the board.

Within a few months he had obtained the trio's agreement for him to take over the top job in the mail-order house.

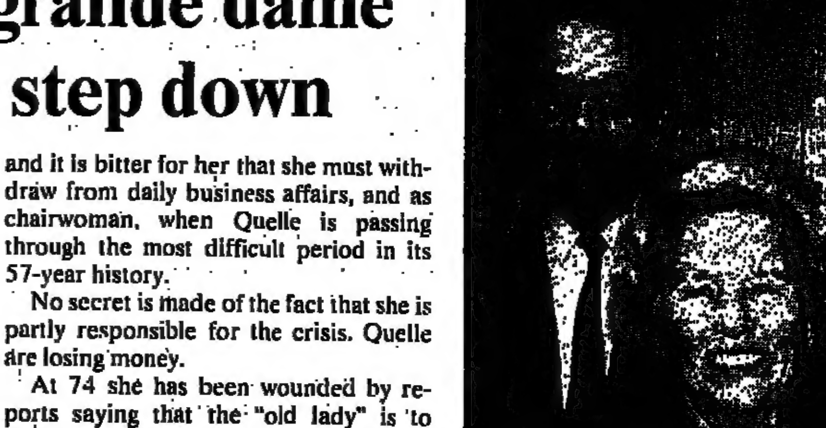
His ideas for dealing with the crisis sound convincing:

- He intends to reduce the range of goods, concentrate the department stores more on attractive special offers and improved services and increase the number of special offers.
- The mail-order houses are to be boosted with in-between-season special catalogues, the aim being to make the firm more flexible and less dependent on prices fixed for six months at a time.

Zumwinkel is convinced that Quelle can stabilise turnover this year and increase it in some sectors.

Grete Schickedanz believes it will be possible to increase turnover by three to

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Grete Schickedanz, Quelle chief executive, with designated successor Klaus Zumwinkel (right) and sons-in-law Hans Dedi and Wolfgang Bühler in the background. (Photo: dpa)

■ FOOD & DRINK

Brewers and beer-drinkers campaign for real ale

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

German beer has by law been brewed with nothing but malt, hops, brewer's yeast and water for nearly 500 years. But the European Community may soon put an end to this hallowed tradition.

The first hearing in the European Community's suit against the Federal Republic of Germany before the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg is to be held in May.

German real ale campaigners — and brewers — await the outcome with bated, beery breath. Both are worried the German market may be swamped in cheaper, chemical beer if the Federal Republic loses its case.

Faced with the threat of having to permit imports of "chemical beer" from other Common Market countries, the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bonn Bundestag, ruled in March 1983 that beer marketed in the Federal Republic of Germany must comply with real ale regulations in force since 1516.

Baden-Württemberg brewers say nearly three million beer-drinkers have signed a petition calling for the sixteenth-century ruling to be retained.

The European Commission sees the mediaeval regulation as a restrictive practice. And trade restraint is actionable in the Common Market.

Member-countries are entitled to issue regulations governing the manufacture and marketing of products in their territory as long as there are no European Community regulations binding on all Common Market countries.

But quality requirements that aren't essential are, like import quotas, illegal. Or so the European Commission in Brussels argues.

The German real ale regulations may constitute trade restraint but they can lay claim to historic tradition.

Duke William IV of Bavaria proclaimed the original ruling on 23 April 1516 — 470 years ago. Since when German beer has legally been brewed from nothing but pure malt, hops, yeast and water.

It is not only one of the oldest foodstuff regulations in the world but also one of the most up-to-date in requiring strict purity and banning chemical additives.

European brewers are less particular. They use enzymes, clarifiers, fillers, preservatives and foam stabilisers to offset the taste forfeited by using rice, maize, sugar and untreated barley instead of malt.

German brewers are suspected of fearing competition from imported beer, which will be cheaper than the local product. If it were dearer, no-one would presumably be all that upset.

Axel Stemmer of the Baden-Württemberg Brewers' Association disagrees. "The economic significance of imported beer is negligible," he says.

"All we are worried about is our customers' health — no matter what they may say."

No matter what the European court rules in Luxembourg, German beer will continue to be brewed in keeping with time-honoured traditions. The real ale regulation remains legally binding on German brewers.

But imports of cheaper beer with chemical additives, at present banned, may have to be permitted.

Karl Geibel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 22 February 1986)

Food adulteration and toxins said to be on increase

Food adulteration and the use of toxic additives is no better now than it was five years ago. If anything, the situation has grown worse, experts say.

Consumers are virtually powerless in the face of these practices — and usually have no idea of the extent to which they go on. Adulteration and additives were criticised by agricultural experts and policy-makers, food inspectors and consumer spokesmen at a seminar in the Georg von Vollmer Academy in Kochel, Bavaria.

Breaches of pure food legislation were still treated as minor offences, the seminar was told, even though in some cases they were a health hazard.

Legal limits were woefully inadequate, the seminar, held at an academy closely linked with the SPD, was told.

"There are limits to pesticides in grain and mercury in snails but none to cadmium in bread," said foodstuffs chemist Udo Pollmer.

Commercial fodder still contains pharmaceutical and hormone additives. The brands used have merely been changed, Munich food inspectors say.

"We are looking into hormones most urgently," said a spokesman for the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture, "but a total ban on hormones, desirable though it might be, is impracticable because natural hormones are used, and they are hard to analyse."

Herr Pollmer was critical of what the Bonn government is pleased to call the strictest food regulations in the world. Produce was classified solely by size and external appearance, he said.

Apples for instance were classified by size and colour. Nutritional value was immaterial. Taste was relevant only inasmuch as apples must not have an unaccustomed taste or smell.

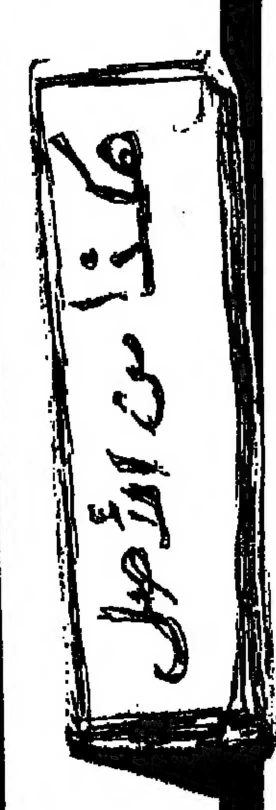
Social Democratic agricultural policy experts called for foodstuffs courts and public prosecutors to spike the food adulterators' guns.

These special courts needed to be backed up by central market monitoring units working in collaboration with state research laboratories.

Market prices must be constantly monitored and samples analysed.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 18 February 1986)



Continued from page 6

cent years has done little to improve the situation on the labour market.

Higher unemployment means that those who are still fortunate enough to have a job are more frightened of losing it.

Trade unions find it increasingly difficult to recruit new members, and older members are more difficult to mobilise for industrial action.

Employers, on the other hand, find is easier to find job-seekers willing to act as strike-breakers.

Even a wary appraisal of the comparison of union and employer funds outlined here cannot confirm the existence of a preponderance of trade union power.

On the contrary, the unions were and still are much less powerful than the employers.

Bearing this initial situation in mind, therefore, it is impossible to claim that the proposed amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act is necessary to improve the regulatory framework of the labour market.

Such an amendment would reinforce an existing imbalance rather than establish a balance of power.

If the government wants free collective bargaining to function smoothly and is keen on establishing a balance of power between collective bargaining parties, it must try to ensure a fairer balance of power on the labour market and at long last do something to fight unemployment.

Ernst Niemeier

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 March 1986)

White paper probes vegetarian and wholefood diets

The government's report on eating habits, issued every four years, will cover new aspects of food such as health foods and vegetarian diets.

Göttingen University announced recently that the Bonn Health Ministry was financing a research centre to collate international data on hunger, appetite and repletion.

Professor Volker Pudel was appointed to head this nutrition research centre attached to Göttingen University.

Information from this centre will be included in the government's report. He said that the report would be aimed mainly at making recommendations for healthier eating.

With this in mind research will concentrate on whether ecologically-produced health foods are indeed less harmful and whether vegetarian diets are indeed healthier.

In addition suggestions will be made on the problems of food hygiene.

Attempts will be made to clarify whether the body's sense of repletion is not disrupted by excess sugar and fat in modern foods.

A food laboratory in Göttingen will, during the summer, test the hypothesis that people have a normal or ideal body weight unrelated to any rule of thumb.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that when overweight people diet, they suffer from chronic deficiencies.

Professor Pudel said: "We presume that the only direction in which this natural weight can be changed is an upward one; in other words, you can put on weight but not lose it."

He said that when fatty cells had been created it was impossible to reduce them.

It follows from this, he said, that "fat people are not going to be happier when they diet and get thin."

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 27 February 1986)

Göttingen research scientists breed super-trout

Göttingen research scientists are breeding a super-trout with 20 per cent more fish than conventional rainbow trout. Sperm is deep-frozen because cross-bred varieties breed at different times between October and April. Artificial light is used to hoodwink fish into breeding twice a year. So the Federal Republic of Germany may soon be exporting trout, not importing half the fresh-water fish it eats.

Cowboys in the Wild West used to brand their cattle with hot irons. Göttingen fish research scientists brand rainbow trout with liquid nitrogen.

Thousands of fish have been branded in a bid to breed a super-trout. AG4 or DF2 swim through an anaesthetic tank before being branded. Otherwise the liquid nitrogen would hurt.

Göttingen University animal breeding and domestic animal genetics department is branding fish to breed a super-trout that grows faster and breeds twice as fast as ordinary rainbow trout.

Professor Hans-Jürgen Langholz says scientific fish breeding, a research sector woefully neglected, is a winner. Fish costs much less to breed than either beef or pork.

He and his colleagues are probably the first research scientists in the world to systematically study which varieties of trout grow fastest.

In the 1970s they laid in stocks of rainbow trout from 17 areas of Western Europe and North America and bred them under identical conditions on an estate in Relliehausen, near Göttingen.

Some varieties were found to grow 20 per cent more fish than others in the same period.

Project manager Gabriele Hörstgen-Schwark did not leave it at that. Ordinary breeders might simply have selected the largest fish for further work more or less coincidentally. The Göttingen team worked systematically.

"We kept our eyes open for large varieties," she says, "and are now breeding with the largest fish in these particular families."

A generation later the resulting fish yield a further 10 per cent, and sooner or later the positive properties of the various fish are to be cross-bred to yield a super-trout.

The problem with cross-breeding is that different varieties of trout breed at different times — from October to April.

In the past it has not been possible to preserve eggs and sperma for long enough to cross-breed, but in Relliehausen trout sperm has been deep-frozen and can in theory be preserved for years with no loss in quality.

The entire breeding process has been accelerated by using artificial light to simulate a year in six months. Fish have in this way been misled into breeding twice a year.

The Federal Republic of Germany imports roughly half its fresh-water fish requirements. If the Göttingen research project fulfils its promise this state of affairs could soon change.

Frau Hörstgen-Schwark says the quality of the Göttingen super-trout is superb. But she hasn't eaten any for years.

Matthias Brunnert/pid

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 March 1986)

■ OUR WORLD

Europe makes headway on environmental protection

DIE WELT

Meetings of the European Community Council of Environment Ministers didn't use to create much of a stir, but they have come in for closer scrutiny since the catalytic converter dispute nearly called free trade in the Common Market into question last year.

In Luxembourg last June the Bonn government had to climb down a peg or two and stagger its plan to make pollution-controlled cars compulsory.

Otherwise it would have clashed head-on with other member-countries and risked a trade war in the Common Market.

Views differ on whether the Luxembourg compromise, on which Denmark and Greece still have reservations, will be enough to prevent wholesale tree death in European woods and forests.

Even so, the Luxembourg compromise was the first time European Community countries had sought to reconcile economic and environmental interests.

Further talks of this kind seem inevitable. Since 1983 Community heads of government have repeatedly mentioned the need for joint environmental measures. The mainspring of such moves has always been Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Bids to arrive at a common environment policy date back to the 1972 Paris summit when the European Commission was instructed to draw up a programme.

The emphasis was to be on making the pollution offender pay the bill for damage done. It was also realised that harmful substances were no respecter of national borders.

In practice the Community has difficulty in agreeing on joint minimum environmental standards.

This difficulty is due to the different geographical location of member-countries, to different industrial interests and to different degrees of environmental awareness.

Britain for instance benefits from mainly being at the receiving end of westerly winds. It need have few worries of industrial pollution from other countries blowing in the wind.

Industrial effluent in British rivers is less problematic too. Sooner or later it reaches the open sea. The Rhine in contrast is heavily polluted before it reaches the Dutch border.

So the British government feels the imposition of emission standards is unnecessary, at least for island members of the Common Market.

Britain's geographical location is felt to be a natural advantage. All Whitehall is prepared to consider is general quality objectives.

For Continental member-countries this British outlook is tantamount to distorting competition. The higher cost of meeting emission standards makes their products less competitive.

Public opinion on environmental hazards varies from country to country, the only common denominator being that people tend to feel other countries are mainly to blame for atmospheric pollution and the pollution of rivers and lakes.

According to a 1984 survey commissioned by the European Community 36 per cent of Germans felt they had every good reason to complain about atmospheric pollution, while 41 per cent felt they had good reason to complain.

In Britain the corresponding figures were 24 and 30 per cent. In nearly all Common Market countries people felt pollution from abroad was more serious than domestic sources of atmospheric and water pollution.

A further handicap is the frequent lack of scientific data on toxins and experience with regard to the cost benefit of various methods of limiting environmental hazards.

There are limits to the number of qualified staff available. Politicians are often overburdened by the complicated nature of the problems involved.

Yet over 100 Community guidelines and resolutions on environmental matters have been issued over the past 12 years.

This figure is particularly remarkable in that the Treaty of Rome makes no clear provision entrusting the Community with responsibility for environmental protection.

The Luxembourg reform package clarifies the legal position for the first time in 30 years. Specific provision is to be made for the main features of a uniform environmental policy.

Wilhelm Hadler

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 February 1986)

Bundesrat go-ahead for tougher static emission regulations

The CDU/CSU majority in the Bundesrat has approved the revised version of atmospheric pollution regulations, with SPD *Länder* rejecting the provisions as inadequate.

The new regulations are a compromise negotiated with the Federal government after the Bundesrat approved 70 amendments to the government's proposals last autumn.

Some amendments envisaged much stricter limits than originally proposed. The compromise package was negotiated with CDU/CSU *Länder* only, SPD *Länder* objecting strongly.

The new regulations will, it is claimed, lead to a drastic reduction in static emission, particularly of heavy metal, sulphur dioxide, nitric oxide and dust.

About 50,000 firms will be required to install equipment reducing their pollution output to technically feasible levels over an eight-year period.

The Bonn Interior Ministry says this will require investment totalling an estimated DM10bn at least.

The CDU/CSU majority rejected SPD proposals that would have meant even stricter provisions on some counts.

In two resolutions the Federal government was called on to launch pilot projects to test without delay the extent to which new techniques could perceptibly reduce ammonia emission and purify factory farming emission.

The Bundesrat also approved, despite strong Opposition representations, plans to build new autobahns and trunk roads over the next 10 years.

By 1996 a total of DM51bn is to be invested in trunk roadbuilding programmes, half for new roads, half for maintenance of the existing network.

In the final debate there was a further clash over the mediation process set in motion by the Federal government to reconcile differences of opinion between it and the *Länder*.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 22 February 1986)

Water pollution — stricter safeguards

Both industry and agriculture must be bound by stricter regulations on water pollution, experts, environmentalists and trade unionists agreed at the Bundestag hearing on amendments to the Water Resources Act.

The Confederation of German Industry in contrast sees no need for further amendments, whereas the National Farmers Union concedes that farming can contribute toward pollution of water resources.

But farmers feel they are legally entitled to compensation for damage suffered from any legislation that limits the use of fertilisers and makes them no longer able to cultivate the land as they see fit.

Amendments drafted by the Bonn Interior Ministry are aimed at making it easier for the *Länder* to set up statutory water protection areas. These are areas where farmers can be ordered to limit their use of fertilisers.

The most important amendment planned is, as the Ministry sees it, that offenders who pollute waterways by pumping effluent into them will be required to purify effluent in accordance with the level of technological development.

Professor Jürgen Salzwedel, a Bonn University legal expert, said the credibility of water protection policy depended to a large extent, given the growing nitrate count in ground water, on whether legislation effectively brought overfertilisation to a halt.

He felt the measures planned by the Federal government were inadequate. Roughly 11 per cent of the country needed to be zoned as water protection areas, yet for years only 4.8 per cent had been listed.

Nothing was being done that might upset farmers who stood to be affected.

The Freiburg eco-institute mentioned the "explosive" increase in nitrate pollution in areas where fruit, vegetables and wine were grown and cattle were raised.

It expressed regret that the Federal government had scrapped, after representations from the Agriculture Ministry, plans to include an overfertilisation provision in the Water Resources Act amendments.

No fewer than 800 of the 6,000 waterworks in the Federal Republic handled water with a nitrate count higher than the planned limit of 50 milligrams per litre of tap water.

Gerda Strack

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 February 1986)

■ CINEMA

Golden Bear for Stammheim at Berlin festival

Director Reinhard Hauff was awarded this year's Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival, the 36th, for his film Stammheim. The Silver Bear went to the Italian film The Mass is Over, directed by Nanni Moretti. Russian director Georgi Shengelaya was given a Silver Bear for the best-directed film, The Journey of a Young Composer.

Stammheim, Reinhard Hauff's film based on the court records of the Baader-Meinhof trial of Germany's RAF urban guerrillas in Stuttgart (see *The German Tribune* No. 1215 of 23 February 1986), was a controversial Golden Bear-winner. Its cinematic relevance was far outweighed by its socio-political significance.

It was also plausible to give an award to Georgi Shengalaya's The Journey of a Young Composer, which in a masterly constructed sequence of events tells a sad-absurd story from pre-revolutionary Russia.

After a rebellion against the Tsar's regime a young composer roams through Georgia with a phonograph collecting old folk tunes.

His guide, an alcoholic given to boasting, lets it be known that the composer, a totally non-political artist, is a secret revolutionary.

The Tsar's police get to hear of this and rampage through the homes of those who had given him shelter making arrests, torturing and murdering.

This is more in line with contemporary life than the film from Japan by Masahiro Shinoda, awarded a Silver Bear, entitled Gonza the Lancer.

An underemployed samurai buys his way into a secret tea ceremony where he marries the daughter of the man who holds the secret.

Gonza is suspected of having an affair with the tea-man's wife. He runs off with her and is pursued by the tea-man. As expected the story ends with the ominous flash of the samurai's sword.

For reasons not quite clear the jury gave a special prize to the Italian film The Mass is Over by Nanni Moretti, who wrote and directed it and played the main role.

A priest who has lived for ten years on a small island returns to Rome and sees that the Eternal City is very different from how he had imagined it on his peaceful isle.

There are empty churches and renegade priests, divorce and abortion and many other terrible things in the Eternal City.

In an odd way he is immature and retires resignedly to a remote parish in the mountains where the world is still pious and easily comprehended.

The prize that the jury awarded to Moretti's film in a moment of weakness could well have been given to a far more deserving Italian film, Lina Wertmüller's Camorra.

She had to be satisfied with a prize from the International Protestant Film Jury and an award shared with the Argentine film La Storia Oficial given by the International Forum of Young Film-Makers.

The citation reads: "Lina Wertmüller displays with passion and precision, and in an atmosphere of violence, the activities of the Camorra in Naples where small children are forced into drug addiction and death."



Gina Lollobrigida of the jury with festival director Moritz de Hadeln and film director Reinhard Hauff. (Photo: AP)

The citation continues: "The jury can find no justification for the mothers who take justice into their own hands to solve their problems, but their action is understandable as the last resort of life against death."

It could be added that this film is also a splendidly made, emotional production for the cinema — Lina Wertmüller is good at that.

The jury only "mentioned with praise" the Romanian contribution Paso Doble and not even that for the touching Spanish film The Red-haired Theo and Trouble in Mind from the USA.

It was a matter of some satisfaction, *however, that at least the performance of* Charlotte Valandrey in Véra Belmont's Franco-German production, Red Kisses, was honoured with a Silver Bear.

Valandrey is a very young actress and she portrays convincingly the complicated awakening process of a young girl who comes to realise that Stalin is not the godlike figure she has been taught to see him as.

She makes this discovery by close observation of the world around her and in the arms of a cynical young newspaper photographer.

This brilliant film is a real discovery, one of the few to emerge from the programme of entries to this year's Berlin festival.

Munich director Herbert Achternbusch was certainly not in the running for a prize with his marathon production Heilt Hitler, a pun on the Nazi salute.

Fault can be found with the jury decisions for this or that film, but not with their rejection of this three-hour-long monster, although Achternbusch knows how to irritate and fascinate audiences well enough.

In an incredible way he has collected together in this, his latest film, bits and pieces of German reality since the battle for Stalingrad.

No-one who knows his work will be surprised that a late returner from the Russian prisoner-of-war camps sees post-war, re-built Munich, like post-war, re-built Stalingrad and the Federal Republic, as if they were put up by Nazi architects for a Hitler in a plaster cast.

Nor was anyone surprised that he distributed jelly babies, jelly *bears* in German, at a curious press conference as a substitute for the Golden Bear he knew he wasn't going to get. That's just what you would expect of Achternbusch.

Hellmut Kotschenreuther

(Mannheimer Morgen, 27 February 1986)

Young Film-Makers' forum looks at Latin America

Berlin and other film festivals guarantee full houses for films unlikely to be a commercial success elsewhere.

Within the festival framework the Young Film-Makers' Forum, organised by co-director Ulrich Gregor, is something of a seismosgraph of international cinematographic output.

Films shown are not entered for the Gold or Silver Bear awards, so they can be discussed more openly and radically in the context of new trends in film-making.

*The forum presupposes keen cinema*goers willing to run the risk of seeing unknown films with the emphasis on experiment and commitment.

That presupposes a great deal of patience, partly because many films are extremely long. Oddly enough, in an opening scene of Shuji Terayama's Farewell Ark dozens of clocks are buried.

This film, shown earlier in Cannes, is typical of the programme and range at this year's Berlin forum.

Inspired by Gabriel Garcia Marquez' Hundred Years of Solitude, Farewell Ark builds a bridge between Latin American and Japanese myths, arguably surprising Europeans rather than fostering understanding.

Against the background of the age of enlightenment it is extremely difficult to appreciate more than superficially the sensual and poetic imagery of this and other films from Asia.

It tells the tale of a tragic young couple who are the laughing stock of their village because the husband is unable to remove his wife's chastity belt.

*But this is merely the outward frame*work. Archaic symbols and avant-garde



ideas are combined in a fascinating symbiosis of passion and despair.

It may be said to reflect the nearness to death of the poet and writer Terayama, who died after long and serious illness just before the film was premiered.

As on past occasions the forum concentrated on Latin America, showing 11 films produced since the restoration of democracy in Argentina two years ago.

They included Luis Puenzo's La Historia Oficial, which was nominated for an Oscar.

Werner Schroeter's De l'Argentine serves as a fine introduction to the verve and enthusiasm of Argentine film-makers able to work freely again after years of oppression.

Schroeter deals with the fate of people who disappeared during the years of military rule and interviews their next-of-kin.

The film is not a straightforward documentary. It wouldn't be, a film made by Werner Schroeter.

He puts together fictional scenes of fantasy and satire, has Evita Peron perform on stage and provocatively wonders what the Church and Press have to answer for.

Claude Lanzmann's Shoah towers like a monolith amid the forum and the entire Berlin film festival.

It takes us back to the concentration camps where Jews were annihilated by the Nazis, interviewing victims and camp staff for nine and a half hours.

In other documentaries about the Holocaust (Shoah is the Hebrew word for destruction) we are shown concentration camp footage or scenes representing concentration camp life.

Lanzmann in contrast uses sparing but extremely effective means of recalling memories and dismay. As one survivor says early in the film: "No-one can possibly imagine what went on here."

"We are all only people," he says, "and want to live, which is why we have to forget."

But when victims, killers, fellow travellers and eye-witnesses recall they on green fields where concentration camps stood within living memory it is as though the places themselves told their tales.

They are tales of death by the million, of an appalling past that Germans are still keen to forget, as recent instances have shown.

More can be said about Lanzmann's superb film technique when Shoah is serialised on Channel Three of German TV in a few weeks' time (why not on Channel One?).

Yet surely a civilised country ought to be in a position to screen this major film in its cinemas. *SPD* leader Willy Brandt at least sent a greetings telegram apologising for being unable to attend the premiere.

Films that break the conventional bounds of cinema, such as Shoah and Heimat (which was over 10 hours long) or, coming this summer at the Munich film festival, Fathers and Sons, Bernhard Sinkel's lengthy film about IG Farben, painfully underscore the *limitations* of a film festival.

That leaves only the task of recording the varied events that went on during this year's Berlin festival. Many films shown were a record of everyday life, like Louis Malle's God's Country.

We are shown through the eyes of a European director the American way of life as exemplified by a small town in Minnesota.

The striking feature of Malle's approach is his comparison of footage shot in 1979 with footage *shot last year,* demonstrating the influence of the political atmosphere on people over the years.

A contrasting film was Ross McElwee's Sherman's March, which set out to show viewers how General Sherman gradually took the Civil War to the civilian population in the Confederate states.

But McElwee soon abandons the documentary approach and deals with strictly private and personal matters.

He photographs women and [illegible] meets on the road and falls in love with. He talks about the financial problems that make it so difficult for him to carry on making the film.

He relaxes on a sunshine island, living a Robinson Crusoe life, complete with a Girl Friday, for the camera, then explains why he is so worried about the risk of nuclear war.

Initially it all sounds spontaneous, like a sudden departure, and this spontaneity is underscored by shakes of the camera.

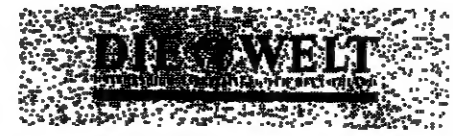
But retelling Sherman's life story is later seen to have been a mere pretext. By this time viewers have come to accept the situation and to enjoy the show put on by a gauche Woody Allen of the country road.

Banal coincidences are transformed

Continued on page 13

■ THE ARTS

The Cleveland Symphony Orchestra's tour triumph under Christoph von Dohnanyi



The Cleveland Symphony Orchestra's tour of Europe under its conductor-in-chief Christoph von Dohnanyi is already being hailed as a triumph.

Both at the new Gasteig arts centre in Munich and the Beethovenhalle in Bonn audiences have been entranced by the performances this ensemble has given.

The orchestra did not butter up its audiences. They played Charles Ives' puzzling five-minute-long piece The Unanswered Question. Then in Munich they played Mendelssohn's difficult Italian Symphony along with Schumann's unwieldy Second.

In Bonn they gave Mozart's Oboe Concerto and Anton Bruckner's Third.

These are not orchestral show-off programmes, music to please the crowds. This is music that should allegedly not be included in concert tours.

Christoph von Dohnanyi is laughing up his sleeve at the enormous success he has had.

In the early 1980s there were rumours that the Cleveland was looking for a German conductor to succeed the unlucky Lorin Maazel. Could it be Tennstedt? Sawallisch? Gielen? No-one thought of Dohnanyi.

His career had taken him from Lübeck to Kassel, to West German Radio, Cologne and the head of the opera in Frankfurt and finally the Hamburg Staatsoper. Nevertheless he did not seem cut out to be a major international conductor.

Or was it that he preferred the teeth-grinding obedience given him by his German orchestras.

One of his main reasons for leaving Hamburg was differences of opinion with the orchestra.

The Cleveland and Dohnanyi have been looking for one another and have now found each other.

His contract with the orchestra runs until 1988 but there is no doubt that their association will extend into the 1990s.

The first LPs Dohnanyi and the Cleveland have made together, Dvorak's 8th Symphony on the Decca label, have just been issued.

Records are an important additional source of income for American orchestras, which by German standards aren't subsidised.

The famous Cleveland conductor George Szell was very active in the recording studios with the orchestra.

George Szell, who took over the Cleveland in 1946 and was its conductor-in-chief until his death in 1970, built it up from a provincial ensemble to an orchestra of international rank.

His successors have had to measure up to him. Lorin Maazel did not.

Dohnanyi does not only have Hungarian origins in common with Szell but he also has a knife-sharp musical intelligence, with a mixture of lightness and elan on the one hand, and discipline and strength on the other.

An orchestra that for 25 years put up with the sarcasm and mockery of a Szell is not going to be fazed by Dohnanyi's occasional bouts of arrogance.

The orchestra plays beautifully. A forte in Bruckner's 3rd is cut off without any disturbing echo. The violins play a counterphrase as if it were Mozart. The sound hangs in the air, lingers for a few bars, dynamically precise.

The sound is not as if it came from human hands, but as if it were from an electronically-controlled computer.

The Cleveland's Bruckner was elegant and light with rhythmic finesse. It was truly Austrian music from the tradition of Mozart and Schubert.

Other conductors have brought out in Bruckner the pathos, the haze, the flooding sound of the organ. They were slender, polyphonic interpretations. They never captivated as Dohnanyi did.

The spectacular effects are achieved, of course, by the superb playing of the orchestra members, particularly the brass. But preserving such a quality is the work of the conductor.

It was clever to contract John Mack to play the Mozart Oboe Concerto on the tour.

He is an experienced performer, who played the solo part so that the orchestra could provide the most tender accompaniment.

But this Mozart was smooth and singularly unappealing to the emotions. A concert by the Cleveland appeals first and foremost to reason.

Reinhard Beuth

(Die Welt, Bonn, 25 February 1986)



Christoph von Dohnanyi (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

Continued from page 7

four per cent, but Zumwinkel gives priority to cost con[illegible]

As a result of losses it was decided 14 months ago to introduce an immediate rationalisation and cost reduction programme. Zumwinkel was then only an adviser. He said that this saved tens of millions last year. With turnover a good DM300m down losses would otherwise have amounted to well over DM100m.

Certainly Zumwinkel is well aware that Grete Schickedanz will still be standing by his side for a few more years, and not just with encouraging words. She has made it abundantly clear that she does not intend wholly to take a back seat at Quelle. She wants "still to be involved in the firm and to participate in fundamentals."

Hermann Bössenecker

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 28 February 1986)

Two-woman ballet team poke fun at male prejudice

Two Women, the latest ballet starring and written by Rotraut de Neve and Heidrun Vielhauer, deals with how women's behaviour provokes chauvinistic responses and perpetuates this repressive mechanism.

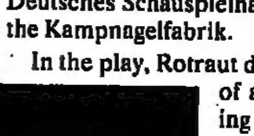
Men are not the focal point of attention, although the hierarchies which they embody are the derided targets of the ballet's choreographic sallies.

It is with a parodied image that they enlighten the audience.

At a business party, a bald old man treats his spouse as his personal property, *while she is also obviously available* to the junior manager.

In another scene he casually spreads his wife's legs — his face hidden under a mask — and pulls out a symbolic hen, appropriately seasoned and prepared.

Two Women was first put on a few months ago as a production of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburg, at the Kampnagelfabrik.



'Two Women' starring Rotraut de Neve and Heidrun Vielhauer in Hamburg (Photo: dpa)

In the play, Rotraut de Neve acts first of all the dominating active male part. The dancer Heidrun Vielhauer puts herself, at first, in the role of the patient wife. She accepts everything without resistance, though she does react to male rebukes. Later on, she changes her contour with a costume. With her head [illegible] leather cap and her slim body hidden in a double-breasted suit, she changes into a man. It is not the role allocation which is important in this collage — scored by Rüdiger Hürter — but the role behaviour of the linguistically expressive dark-haired actress and the tall blonde choreographer. Next season will see them at the Bremer Theater, following Reinhild Hoffmann. They are intent on staying together.

They take on every male prejudice, using slightly overplayed cabaret and dance.

They use their versatility to uninhibitedly, continually change their characterisation. At the end of the play they free themselves from socially defined roles.

Then, in one of the play's most beautiful scenes, they push their emancipation game to a point where they blend together. Two women of different back*grounds who want the same thing.*

Their artistic partnership came about by accident. Rotraut de Neve came to Hamburg via Lucerne, Bremen, Cologne and Frankfurt.

She says, "I have always understood my profession in a physical way, and not just as a linguistic form of expression which can be pretentious.

"On the other hand, I am interested in every kind of responsibility which is important for the invention of one's own work.

"I am not a frustrated actress. However, I have always had the feeling of being underchallenged."

Heidrun Vielhauer was trained as a classical dancer at the Essen Folkwang School. Later she was co-founder of the Rainbow Dance Theatre and choreographer at the Berlin Dance Factory.

She says: "Acting and language have always fascinated me. We tried already in small doses to use language in our dance plays.

"But we were quickly confronted with problems. Maybe we gave up too easily.

"I was then delighted to work with Rotraut de Neve and Imogen Kogge on "Der letzte Schrei" in Hamburg."

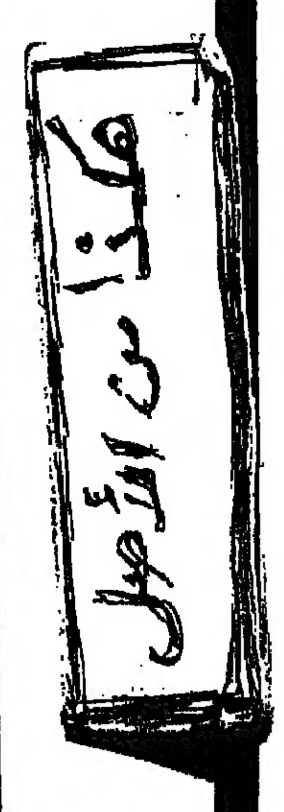
Both want to continue their research for another three years. They want an ensemble of 15 "oral" dancers and actors.

The contrast between language and movement should provide the creative energy. Heidrun wants a dance form which allows one to evolve from the other. Themes are no problem.

Rotraut de Neve says: "I am bored with the conflict between man and woman. I am interested in possibilities for understanding. I find the struggle between them out of date."

Hartmut Regitz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 March 1986)



■ EDUCATION

Waldorf School founder Rudolf Steiner was born 125 years ago

Waldorf schools don't advertise, yet Rudolf Steiner and the ventures he sired are flourishing. He was born 125 years ago. The first Waldorf school was founded over 60 years ago, in 1919. Ten years ago there were only 100 Waldorf schools around the world; now there are 350. How do they differ from state schools? How did schools come about? What was their objective in the past? What are they today?

Lübecker Nachrichten

Along with the first advanced civilisations came the first recognisable schools. Writing, reading and arithmetic were taught.

There had been education before that, parallel to the development of earlier cultures, in the form of bravery rites and others.

The young also had to learn religious taboos, to be admitted to hunting groups.

Those who failed were excluded. They still are. Without a school diploma, one cannot study or be trained, and remains on the bottom rung of the social ladder.

Accordingly to behavioural science, man is an open system. He can only survive as an adult in a group, after having acquired the necessary rules and knowledge.

Parents try to form their children according to their ideas and to pass their knowledge on to them.

The stricter ordering of education ran parallel to the arrival of the modern 18th century state. The state wanted people for the army, administration and the gradually flourishing economy.

The Prussian state had to use retired non-commissioned officers as teachers. The King personally inspected his schools.

But when it was realised that children were not miniature adults and thought and perceived differently according to their age, a gradual change came about.

Today, there is still a lack of awareness of the findings of developmental psychology and education science.

Few parents are aware of the special needs of their children; they bring them up as they themselves were educated. If as children they were punished, they also punish, and if they were treated in a loving way, they act the same way.

Educationalists maintain that whereas people read books on rearing animals, they mostly believe in letting nature take its course with their children.

The widespread uncritical attitude of parents can be observed in kindergartens and schools. They usually display little curriculum interest.

They even tolerate some teachers' refusals of admittance or having a say.

Teacher training is also not always ideal. *It is still possible for a future* schoolteacher to have studied for six years without having physically taught children.

Theoretical knowledge of child development is for many not a university requirement.

It is therefore not surprising that absurd ideas from universities end up in schools, a drastic example was the introduction of set theory. Gradually it clandestinely disappeared from primary schools.

It is not surprising that increasing numbers of parents are refusing to accept the gap between schools and the needs of their children.

Many have turned to the doctrine of Rudolf Steiner and the Waldorf schools influenced by him. In many ways they are astonishingly modern, despite being over 60 years old.

Steiner was born to Austrian parents on 27 February 1861, in Kraljevac bordering on Yugoslavia and Hungary. He grew up there.

In 1879 he attended the Technical University in Vienna. From 1890 he lived for several years in Weimar as a researcher at Goethe's and Schiller's archives.

He moved to Berlin in 1897 and died on 30 March 1925 after long years of travel and lecturing.

At the turn of the century he began in Berlin to develop anthroposophy, a mystical theory which tries to combine reincarnation and Christian thought.

The doctrine is less of a dogma and more an allusion to a healthy way of life. It involves itself in agriculture, medicine and art.

A cigarette factory called "Waldorf Astoria" gave the Waldorf schools their name. Its managinbg director, Emil Molt, was a follower of the doctrine, and secured Steiner's services for his first school.

Marks abolished

The schools are still run on this model. There are many differences between Waldorf and other schools.

Schooling lasts 12 years for all pupils. There is no dividing up the different streams. The children remain in contact with each other from the first to last class.

There is no marking. Instead, at the end of the year pupils receive character assessments.

The children are taught by just one teacher from the first to the eighth class, in the main subjects. Class begins every day with flute music and a class poem. English and French are taught from the first class on.

The lessons take place in so-called several-weekly periods. A subject is taught for the entire period and then another one follows.



Rudolf Steiner

(Photo: dpa)

Great emphasis is put on special movement and craft skills which are not taught in normal schools. All lessons are to be artistically inspired.

After the eighth class the pupils get new teachers. They then tackle agriculture and industry.

The teachers of the junior classes are trained at special Waldorf seminars. The main-subject teachers have degree and additional *Steiner* training. Their salaries are about a third less than those of state school teachers.

The financing and recruitment of every school and teacher results from parent initiative. Parent-teacher contact is very close.

The teachers who supervise the first eight classes regulate student admissions.

The school fees are unusually high. The parents have to work out fees themselves in relation to their income. They pay at least DM150 per month. There is no maximum.

The Waldorf schools deny being ideological schools where anthroposophy is taught — though the teachers have duties and live and think according to the doctrine.

They want to nurture the children's growth with knowledge. Knowledge should be absorbed and not crammed in.

Large classes with sometimes more than 40 pupils are considered desirable. They should foster the interaction of different temperaments and the ability to socialise. The better students are urged to help the weaker ones.

The atmosphere does strike visitors as being relaxed and anxiety-free. The schools average about 500 pupils and are easily surveyable.

Unlike the barracks-like form of many state schools, the buildings are friendly.

The educational aims appear so sensible, one wonders why the normal schools have not borrowed from their positive aspects, such as the relegation of the importance of marking.

It seems unreasonable to mark subjects like gymnastics, drawing or music. And the arbitrary nature of marking German essays has been borne out by several investigations.

Above all the close parent-teacher contact should be a model for other schools.

Admittedly, the ideology behind the Waldorf method, with its eurythmics and unusual door designs, sometimes comes across to outsiders as a bit strange.

Hans-Dieter Hellmann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 23 February 1986)

■ MODERN LIVING

Father — the first man in every girl's life

Psychologists' interviews show how important fathers are in a daughter's upbringing. Many who have not got on well with their father have developed problems as a result.

Martina, 16, says she had little to do with her father. He always shirked important decisions. She could have benefited from his attention and advice. But he was never there when he was needed.

Kirstin, 18, feels much the same. When she has problems she goes to her mother. She always wanted to learn from her father, to be like him and to receive emotional recognition. But she forgives him because of his workload.

Andrea, 14, however, cannot really forgive. Her father left home when she was 12 and her two sisters were 14 and 15. He never made any effort to get to know them.

Andrea has not been able to get over



it. As a daughter she feels to blame for his running off. Her mother has a friend, and she feels able to relate to him.

Munich journalist Karin Arndt, who writes children's books, has written a new book called The First Man in My Life. It deals with the subject of father-daughter relations.

She interviewed women from all walks of life and age groups who above all else wanted to talk about their early painful experiences with their fathers. Unlike Andrea they had no friend to relate to.

It should have been no surprise that so many women agreed to be interviewed. Admittedly a large portion withdraw their consent for fear that their fathers might read the interview.

Fear plays an important role in most father-daughter relationships. A 34-year-old judge with two children backed down. She was afraid of hurting her father. When asked how often he had hurt her, she replied: "I have nothing to say; he was never there."

Such admissions are alarming when one considers the role a father has in the life of a young girl. Whether he wants her or not, is affectionate or brutal, makes himself available or is withdrawn, he is the first man in his daughter's life.

He is her representation of manhood. Ultimately he embodies knowledge and environment. He is guidance and the judge of performance and profession.

Frau Arndt says fathers are admired as gods because they are never there. They exercise their power over the daughter through the mother.

When an adult woman goes looking for a man or partner the ideal of the father is always in mind.

One twice-divorced woman had dreamt, and still does, of a big, affectionate father carrying her in his arms. Because she had only experienced her father as absent she erected this illusionary vision of him. Her vision would now be more realistic, if she had continually witnessed his failings as a father.

Another woman admitted to having life-long sexual fears, shyness, and unease in male company.

American psychologist E. M. Hetherington has been researching the father-daughter syndrome for years. She confirms that girls, who have lost their father through death or divorce show states of sexual tension, which are expressed through provocative, challenging behaviour in the company of men or youths of similar age.

Girls who have lost their father by the age of five often seek to be disciplined by others. Such girls are also more dependent on recognition than others. A large proportion have early phaysical contact with men.

For many women not just paternal absence but the trauma of child molestation is the source of their problems. Other women had to endure their father's belief in the educational value of punishment.

Of course not all fathers are violent. But many miss the initial opportunity of developing a relationship with their daughters. After infancy those who fail to perceive a child's needs miss out on having a positive influence on the child.

Therefore, the contribution of the father to the social and intellectual development of the child, though unlike the mother's, is considerable.

Psychologists have long known that daughters with positive father-relations are self-confident, mix well and can handle new situations and people.

Research shows how fathers and mothers influence intellectual development *in different ways. The father contributes* through playing and the mother through verbal stimulation.

Taking all this into account, the confessions in Karin Arndt's book are not just allocations of blame. They are better described as cries for a father's love, understanding and recognition and perhaps testify to a desire to come to an understanding with him.

Writer Alice Miller says: "If children have been forced to explain their upbringing in terms of their parents' childhood, one can be sure the parents neglected perceiving the souls of their children."

Barbara Rüther

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 23 February 1986)

Continued from page 10

into a shrewd, no-holds-barred view of everyday American life that was one of the most entertaining films shown in Berlin.

Reflection about the German way of life is a feature of modern German films too, although there was no major German film at Berlin this year.

Hartmut Bitomsky deals in his documentary Reichsautobahn with the background to and ritualisation of autobahn construction in the Third Reich.

Thomas Carle's So Long Cowboy probes the Americanisation of the average German, while Ulrike Ottinger takes a 270-minute look at China — The Arts — Everyday Life.

Small wonder many cinemagoers felt her film was a little overlong. Many German and European avant-garde films lack vitality and dedication.

Both were plentifully in evidence in Paul Leduc's Mexican film Frida — A Living Still Life, the story of Frida Kahlo, the painter and companion of Diego Rivera.

With passion and impact Leduc shows how committed she was to the cause of social justice, how she suffered, her relationship with Rivera and their mutual friendship with Trotsky.

Leduc dispenses entirely with realism, basing his approach on the frequently traumatic, despairing paintings of Frida Kahlo, and relying in the *silent film manner* on the powers of expression of [illegible]

Frida is arguably the finest and most aesthetically satisfying film shown at the Berlin forum. Peter Greenaway's A Zed and Two Noughts is also worth mentioning.

The title is a riddle clearly indicating the word zoo, and his bizarre film is set in a zoo.

It is as subtle as his last full-length film, shown in Germany as Der Kontrakt des Zeichners (The Artist's Contract), dealing with a murder in an 18th century English country house.

Greenaway's latest film shows him to be one of the most stimulating, imaginative and subtle contemporary European film directors.

Roland Keller

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 February 1986)

Jobless teachers stage sit-in at Bonn comprehensive school

School began quite normally at Beuel [illegible] when students and staff saw buses pulling up in front of the school, they realised something was up.

Shortly before 11 a.m. about 500 unemployed teachers from North Rhine-Westphalia moved into the school. It was the first sit-in of its kind in West Germany. Teachers came to put their unwanted teaching skills at the school's disposal.

It was a peaceful, happy and colourful sit-in. A group of special-school teachers with negligible employment prospects wrapped themselves up in blue plastic bags.

On them they had written: "Are we special educational waste?" They gave the children balloons and told them of the unemployment awaiting them in the future.

In the entrance hall they sold tzatziki [illegible] sandwiches while a cabaret about the teaching profession took place.

The workshop for unemployed teachers in North Rhine-Westphalia together with the *Land* trainee teacher association organised the sit-in.

They had, however, more than just fun to offer. Four hours later the occupiers took over the lessons from their colleagues. The around 1,200 pupils greeted them enthusiastically with: "Come in, we need you!"

Apart from the unexpected fun which the pupils obviously had, the action served an educational purpose. As one pupil put it, "We knew there were many unemployed teachers but this is the first time we have seen any."

Susanne Höll

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 28 February 1986)

Advice bureau for families deep in debt

Frankfurter Rundschau

Social workers Ulrich Simanski and Marion Arndt run a debt advice centre for families in the traditionally working-class Berlin borough of Wedding.

The door of this office has a poster which says, "Loan sharks — no thanks!" It is the only place in Berlin which caters for families with debt problems.

Most of their clients are young married couples. They often bring a mixed collection of bills, credit contracts, warning letters or repossession notes in shoe boxes or plastic bags.

Many have lost their jobs or through illness or pregnancy been forced to give them up. Similarly, for others a vicious circle of debt accumulation occurs.

Creditors harass employers and the employee loses his job. Suddenly the rent, heating, hire purchase, arrears-interest and reminder charges cannot be paid.

Nearly every second household in West Germany and Berlin has consumer credit debts. They total about DM160bn. Unexpected changes can often leave families with little financial manoeuvrability.

The unfulfilled wish for recognition leads many to live on tick. Simanski says, "Young families want to prove to *parents that they are getting on.*"

Before he gets married a typical example buys on credit a car, a television, a video recorder and an expensive life insurance. After the wedding he struggles to make ends meet.

he has two children. To buy clothes for the family, he uses mail-order hire purchase loans. He repeatedly loses his job.

Creditors are surprisingly able to quickly track down his new employer. The health of his wife deteriorates and she feels suicidal. He tries to ignore the problems by leaving bills and reminders unopened in drawers.

This is where Ulrich Simanski comes in. Fellow social workers send particularly needy cases with mounting debts. They lay their correspondence open on the table.

In many cases the clients have raised 12 or more loans and accumulated debts of between DM30,000 and DM50,000. Simansky says, "We get those who are afraid to inquire how much they owe."

He first draws up a family budget, than calculates how much is available for monthly debt payments.

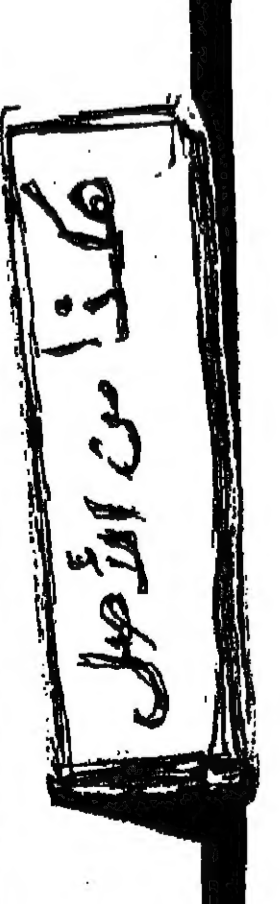
He then corresponds with the creditors and ascertains the extent of the debts. Next he organises a debt fund: either an interest-free loan from the Family Aid Foundation or a normal bank loan for which the foundation vouches.

Then comes the bargaining with creditors. He makes banks, stores or collecting agencies a sobering offer to settle for 50 or 60 per cent of the debts in cash and renounce the rest.

The alternative is an unpredictable drawn out court case. The creditors usually grit their teeth and accept.

Birgit Loff

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 February 1986)



■ THE LAW

Constitutional Court ruling strikes a blow for mental patients' rights



The Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe has quashed five court rulings against a man who spent 15 years in jail and mental home for stealing a fur coat.

It spent five years investigating the appeal in a case that has become something of a *cause célèbre* but its ruling has fully vindicated the unfortunate 37-year-old and pilloried an appalling miscarriage of justice.

The rights of everyone committed to mental institutions should be strengthened as a result.

His lawyer had psychiatrists examine him. They found him perfectly sane, yet he was kept in custody even though he had only stolen a coat. They were appalled that the authorities refused to release him.

He stole his fur coat in a department store in 1968. He was under the influence of drink at the time, with a blood alcohol count of 190 milligrams. He was promptly taken into custody.

He spent the nearly 15 years virtually without interruption in mental homes and jails. Yet he was sentenced in 1970, when he was 27, to a mere nine months for theft (in consideration of previous convictions).

He was a simple person, a working man whose youth had been anything but a bed of roses. Between 1958 and 1967 he was sentenced to jail five times for theft.

At times he had used force, so he had a *slight tendency toward violence*. So the Essen court that sentenced him to nine months for stealing the fur coat sent him to a psychiatric clinic for investigation too.

The psychiatric report convinced the court that he suffered from periodic bouts of schizophrenic psychosis and had stolen the coat when the balance of his mind was disturbed.

So he was felt likely to commit similar offences again. In view of his previous convictions the court felt his record was unlikely to improve.

This psychiatric report and the proceedings that led up to it proved his undoing.

He naturally had no intention of staying in a mental home and did his best to get out. Passages from his records quoted by Gerhard Mauz in *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg newsweekly, show how difficult this was.

"Looks unkempt. Has a heavy growth of beard. Is most uncooperative," a 1969 entry comments. "He makes an uncanny impression," another hospital record notes.

Mauz sounds a note of bitter sarcasm in commenting that the patient seems to have been at the mercy of psychologists and court officials suffering from serious prejudice.

Year after year officialdom turned down his applications for release. Applications were rejected by courts in Essen, Kleve and Paderborn and the respective public prosecutor's offices.

From 1976 he was at Eickelborn state mental home apart from intervals when he escaped, sometimes for a few days, sometimes for weeks at a time.

But he was always recaptured and sent back to mental home — even though he committed no offences whatever while he was on the run.

In 1982 he was made a ward of court on grounds of mental deficiency. The application was made because Eickelborn was keen not to appear on paper to have so many inmates committed by criminal courts.

For the past couple of years there has been a change of mind at Eickelborn and other mental institutions, with younger doctors and psychologists tending to side more with their patients.

They often have the greatest difficulty in getting cases past the public prosecutor and given a fair court hearing. But eventually everyone at Eickelborn was on the patient's side in this case.

In about 1980 he made the acquaintance of Lutz Eisel, a Bochum lawyer, via a department that handled psychiatric complaints. Eisel champions the cause of patients who often fight a vain battle for freedom without outside support.

Eisel is a member of the German Psychiatric Society and his 37-year-old client who spent 15 years inside for stealing a fur coat is not the only patient whose release from mental home he hopes to secure.

He realised in 1980, as soon as he heard of the case, that no-one, no matter what the doctors said, could be held in custody for a decade simply for stealing a *fur coat*.

He appealed against the court rulings dismissing his client's applications for release. He eventually took the case to the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.

The Constitutional Court took five years to arrive at a decision, five more years his client spent in a mental home.

But the signs were promising. The case was heard by the full court and not just a committee. The years of waiting were rewarded, Eisel now feels.

The final ruling breathes a spirit of freedom reminiscent of the early years of the Constitutional Court. Five court rulings against the plaintiff were struck down, including one by the *Oberlandesgericht* in Hamm.

The Constitutional Court is strongly critical of the criminal courts in Hamm and Paderborn on three counts:

- They ought not to have dealt so summarily with the facts that led to the plaintiff being committed to a mental home.
- They ought to have weighed the plaintiff's right to freedom against his offence, which was a fairly minor one, given the length of time he had spent in custody.
- They ought also to have appointed a defence lawyer to handle his case at a much earlier stage.

The Constitutional Court ruling makes it clear that the individual's right to freedom must be borne in mind even when offenders are held to be only partly to blame for their offence.

Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, lays down minimum requirements for reliably arriving at the truth both in criminal court proceedings and in enforcement proceedings (which are far more frequent).

The facts must be adequately ascertained as a *sine qua non* of a fair trial. In cases where a medical report is judged necessary, the report must be filed by an experienced specialist.

The Constitutional Court has laid down specific criteria by which courts are to be bound when considering appeals for release from detention in *mental homes*.

Courts must arrive at decisions of their own on the plaintiff's likely future behaviour. They must not rely on the medical report.

The report must be up-to-date and, if the plaintiff has been in a specific mental home for some time, it must be compiled by an outside specialist.

The court must bear in mind and weigh against each other the public interest in general safety and the individual's interest in regaining personal freedom. If the plaintiff has been in custody for a long period this fact must be taken into special consideration.

The forecast on which a decision whether or not to release an applicant based must not necessarily find that they seem sure to be on their best behaviour in future.

What matters is the risk of offences being committed that would warrant further committal. The degree of danger must be taken into account, as must the number of times the plaintiff has been guilty of similar offences and the importance of the offence.

There is certainly no automatic procedure that justifies sending an applicant back into custody. The longer the applicant has spent in a mental home, the more serious the grounds for keeping him in custody must be.

His basic right to freedom must be given increasing priority.

Courts must accordingly go into steadily greater detail on why they feel an applicant should continue to be detained in a psychiatric clinic. Generalisations will not do; criteria must be substantiated.

Most of the rulings Eisel and his client appealed against fail utterly to stand up to closer investigation in the light of these yardsticks laid down by the Constitutional Court.

Its ruling clearly states that the offence, stealing a fur coat, was a fairly minor one, while in one instance the last outside report considered by the lower court was six years old.

Many medical reports *referred* only briefly to the *applicant's* condition and vaguely *mentioned* the risk of an offence being committed.

At times the criteria on which the lower court based its judgment were felt to have been far from clear. Courts even failed to bear in mind that the applicant's periodic aggression might be due in part to the length of time he had spent in custody.

Nearly all considerations, such as the seemingly permanent nature of the applicant's complaint and the danger he was felt to represent, were dilatory, superficial and slipshod.

On one occasion the Paderborn court ruled that he was to be kept in custody against expert opinion and the advice of the institution. Another court also chose to ignore a favourable recommendation.

"The court findings are not in keeping with minimum constitutional requirements," the Constitutional Court decided.

It is equally adamant on the constitutional obligation on the court to appoint a defence lawyer, especially when an ap-

Continued on page 15

Frankfurt granny courts arrest over DM80 fine

Emma Wersig, 80, was to have been taken into custody for refusing to pay an DM80 fine for keeping too many cats in her Frankfurt apartment. But the warrant application has been withdrawn. And not a moment too soon!

The news that the old lady, who is well-known locally as a campaigner against pettifogging bureaucracy, was to be arrested looked like rebounding on the authorities.

Some greeted the news with an unbelieving shake of the head. Others were disgusted by the very idea of civil servants with nothing better to do than send an old lady to jail for not paying a trifling fine.

The arrest warrant was applied for because, as an over-eager official wrote to the court, payment orders had been ineffective and Frau Wersig had failed to respond to them.

Hartmut Vogt, head of the municipal department that had applied for the warrant, withdrew the application as soon as he heard about it and just in time to stay the proceedings.

"We are not going to wage a vendetta against an 80-year-old lady," he said.

Frau Wersig is not just any old lady in Frankfurt. She made headline news years ago by campaigning against the municipal ban on feeding pigeons.

A Frankfurt bye-law made pigeon-feeding an offence on the ground that there were too many of them and something had to be done to stop them.

Frau Wersig appealed against the bye-law and won her case after lengthy litigation. The court ruled that she was entitled to feed Frankfurt pigeons when and where she wanted.

The fine that nearly led to her arrest this time had nothing to do with pigeons. Neighbours had reported her to the authorities in 1983 for keeping at least a dozen cats in a one-roomed apartment.

The health authorities were under statutory obligation to investigate the complaint. They called to check the state of her apartment.

Frau Wersig refused to let the officials in. They broke and entered, she claimed, saying no-one could force her to let anyone into her home.

The officials said they were legally entitled to do so. The upshot was that she was fined DM80. She now lives in an old people's home and refuses to pay.

The authorities refused to take no for an answer. When she failed to answer reminders an arrest warrant was applied for, "but that is now over and done with," Herr Vogt says.

An arrest warrant would have been pointless, just as the fine made no sense. Frau Wersig, he says, is a "grey panther" of a very special kind. Her fine has been waived.

Albert Bechtold

(Kieler Nachrichten, 27 February 1986)

■ MIGRANT WORKERS

Kiel bureau helps foreigners to cope with red tape

Vorwärts

Rosita Meyer is head of the department dealing with foreigners' affairs at Kiel town hall. She is assisted by two Turks, a man and a woman.

She was appointed by Social Democratic mayor Karl-Heinz Luckhardt when he was elected to office five years ago.

She is the only official of this kind in Schleswig-Holstein and there are very few elsewhere in the country.

She takes particular pride in having been the first appointment made by Mayor Luckhardt when he moved into the town hall.

She has held the job for five years. What have she and her assistants achieved over this period? For one, about 600 foreigners a month come to the office for advice.

Officials at the municipal youth department and the residence registration office and school caretakers and secretaries are given tips on how to deal understandingly and politely with foreign workers and applicants for political asylum.

Many officials have been instructed on the special legal aspects that concern foreigners and the particular support measures that are available to them.

Once a week a Turkish-speaking official is available at the housing office for consultations. Other departments apply for someone to be sent to them to help as quickly as possible or for documents and applications to be translated.

Thirteen thousand foreigners live in Kiel, half of them Turks and about two-thirds of them young Turks, and the word "Turk" has become a dirty word in everyday German.

This can be explained by the fact that other national groups are only small. The 761 Poles living there make up the second largest group.

Frau Meyer says Kiel, where foreigners make up only 5.5 per cent of the population, offers better opportunities for integration than other large cities with twice as many foreign residents in percentage terms.

How do Germans and Turks get on in the city? She says that at a personal level it had improved considerably but there is still considerable rejection of foreigners at an official level.

She cites examples of official discrimination that even legal eagles know nothing about.

There was, for instance, the case of a Turk who came to her office for advice. His wife and child had accepted the government repatriation grant and returned to Anatolia.

From then on the man was totally confused. His wife and child are no longer listed on his 1986 tax card. He has been put in the top tax bracket as a single man.

The reason is that children abroad are no longer tax-deductible. It would be more financially advantageous to have the family back in Germany, but they are no longer allowed to return.

For the time being his only hope is that when he comes to make his end-of-year tax returns he can claim maintenance payments as tax-deductible.

Frau Meyer and her office help applicants to fill in tax returns in such cases.

Without there being any actual infringement of the rules many young second-generation Turkish adults, born and educated here, have bureaucratic obstacles put in their way.

Many men look for wives in Turkey and marry there. But the bride can only come to West Germany a year after the marriage has taken place.

Frau Meyer says that newly-weds are expected to live separated for a year before they can live together in Germany.

If the young wife is lucky she can get a visitor's visa before the year is up. Should she become pregnant during the visit, and it would not be surprising if she did, she would still have to leave the country when the visa expired.

She can only remain here until the birth of the child if the health authorities are convinced that there would be a risk to the pregnancy if she were to leave.

Rosita Meyer complains that this is not compatible with the basic legal guarantees for protecting the family.

For the past four months there has been a Turkish midwife available at the health office to give advice — the only one in the Federal Republic.

As a woman is she accepted by Turkish men? She claims this is no problem at all, pointing out that as a woman she is consulted by Turkish women too.

"They would certainly not come to a man with their problems," she says.

This view has been confirmed at the evening meals to which Mayor Luckhardt and his family regularly invite Turkish families.

He has found it difficult to coax from Turkish families what gives them most concern, such as failure to find a job for the children, discrimination, tactlessness among workmates and worry about holding on to their jobs.

At these evening meal meetings a point regularly made is that at school and at work a Turk must be much better than Germans to get on.

This kind of hard-to-define discrimination emerges in matters concerning medical attention for our Turkish fellow-citizens.

For years Seyithan Özdemir, 39, has wanted to open a medical practice in Kiel, but the CDU-run Social Affairs Ministry says that a residential permit can only be given to a non-EEC doctor when no German doctor is prepared to take on the job.

Frau Meyer is now battling for special consideration for Dr Özdemir, for obviously he would not take national health patients away from a German doctor.

In the main his patients would, she said, be people who would not otherwise go to a doctor at all because of anxiety or shame.

At present he gives his fellow-countrymen medical advice free of charge.

He persuaded one young Turk that an operation was not as alarming as he imagined. If he hadn't agreed to the operation he could easily have later had to have a leg amputated.

He reassured a young woman who was worried about a heart operation. She had the operation and so her life was saved.

There is only one Turkish doctor in Kiel at present, a neurologist and skilled surgeon who just doesn't have the time to treat his fellow-Turks.

Dr Özdemir would like to practise as a gynaecologist. If he were allowed to do so, many more Turkish women would probably make use of free antenatal care.

Jörg Feldner

(Vorwärts, Bonn, 22 February 1986)

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plicant may reasonably be assumed, on the basis of medical records, to be incapable of defending himself.

"It hardly needs saying that this was the case in this instance," the Constitutional Court comments. This damning judgment on the [illegible] deal with psych[illegible] end the alacrity and indifference shown by courts and public prosecutors in handling such cases.

They will need to take a closer look at people unable to fend for themselves and give their cases greater care and attention. The Constitutional Court's ruling is greatly to its credit and to be welcomed.

Two days after it was issued the plaintiff was released after nearly 16 years in custody. He seems to have found a court guardian he accepts. His guardian has found him an apartment.

He must now set about relearning how to live in freedom. He has every intention of trying. He is also keen to find a job.

Hanno Kühnert

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 February 1986)

Berlin flying squad keeps the peace

Inspector Gerhard Lüder heads the Aliens Flying Squad of the 5th Precinct in West Berlin. The squad's 45 men aim at keeping the peace among foreigners, mainly Turks.

Twelve officers serve under his command in this precinct, which comprises the Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Tempelhof-Nord districts.

At midnight one Saturday he had an emergency call. There looked like being bloodshed in a feud between two Turkish families in Kreuzberg, according to a report from the local police station.

A Turkish father had found his missing daughter. He knew the name of her young Turkish "abductor," who lived close by.

The men of both families had got together to discuss what kind of revenge should be meted out. Scouts had been sent out to reconnoitre the neighbouring street.

The police hastily called in the imam from the nearby mosque so that he and [illegible] parties.

The peace negotiations were tough and took four hours. The women had to prepare many jugs of coffee and tea.

The young man swore on oath that nothing had happened with the young girl. The honour of the girl's family was satisfied enough to allow the young man to marry her later.

Inspector Lüder's work is not entirely taken up with feuding Turkish families, and there is not always a happy ending, of course.

The flying squad was consulted when Alternative List politicians in the city government raised the question of "marriages of convenience" between Germans and foreigners.

Lüder and his officials do not use terms such as marriages of convenience or sham marriages.

He emphasises that the police do not get under the beds of married couples. An investigation is only made to check whether the foreigner is living with his German wife.

He said that the foreigner had to make a statement to the authorities. False statements were liable to action being taken under aliens legislation.

The question of "marriages of convenience" is left to the courts.

The number of flying squad spot checks at underground stations, on building sites, in pubs and hostels rose [illegible] last year. The 5th Precinct accounted for 25,927 of them.

This increase was partly the result of an increase in flying squad manpower.

Interior Senator Heinrich Lummer said that the reason for this increase was the rise in the numbers seeking asylum and coming into West Berlin via East Berlin's Schönefeld airport.

A checkpoint has been set up at Hallesches Tor underground station behind an inconspicuous door along a passageway linking two lines.

When Inspector Lüder knocks at this door, it is opened by a police officer. A narrow passageway leads to a small room furnished with a wooden table, three chairs and a green telephone.

He can call up the aliens registration office and enquire if a particular person is registered, where he or she has a residence permit or whether there is a warrant out for his or her arrest.

The reply only takes a minute. If all is in order the foreigner can go his way.

Sometimes a naturalised person's identity is checked. A quick phone call and he too can be on his way.

If the German husband or wife is present there is occasionally a protest about discrimination against travellers on the West Berlin transport system.

Inspector Lüder says his men try to treat foreigners in a proper manner.

When a Tamil family arrives from Schönefeld, with many young children, and temperatures are below freezing, he allows them to be taken to the hostel in a police patrol car "so they don't freeze to death trying to find the way."

He has been involved with Islam for years. He has a list of active Turkish institutions and organisations pinned to a board in his office and has contacts with most of them.

He says that it is necessary to differentiate between Turks who have lived and worked in West Berlin for a long time and those who come to Berlin seeking asylum on economic grounds.

His knowledge of the Koran has helped him in his work.

A Turkish father threatened with extradition barricaded himself up in his home. He held a knife in one hand and threatened to kill himself. He held his two-year-old child in the other.

Lüder persuaded him to open the door and quoted to him in Arabic a few appropriate sentences from the Koran.

The knife was not used, and his wife, who has worked for a long time in West Berlin, has been given a work permit.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 23 February 1986)